JOHN LOCKE ESQ.R

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THE BRITISH PLUTARCH:

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES,
WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS, AND ARTISTS,

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME: INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND DURING THAT PERIOD.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SIXTH VOLUME.

The Life of George Byng, Lord Viſcount Torrington page 1
The Life of John Campbell, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich - - - - - - 12
The Life of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford - 25
The Life of John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair - 30
The Life of Henry Saint-John, Viſcount Bolingbroke 69
The Life of Major General James Wolf - 84
The Life of George, Lord Anſon - - 99
The Life of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor of England - - - 109
The Life of Sir John Barnard, Knight - 114
Memoirs of Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcaſtle, and of his Brother the Right Honourable Henry Pelham - - - - - 130
Memoirs of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Cheſterfield - - - - - 156
Memoirs of George, Lord Lyttelton - - 176

SUPPLEMENT.

The Life of Dr. Samuel Clarke - - 187
The Life of Sir James Thornhill - - 209
The Life of Alexander Pope - - - 213
The Life of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin - - - - - 237
The Life of James Thomſon - - - 253
The Life of Sir Hans Sloane, Baronet, - - 260

THE

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BYNG,

LORD VISCOUNT TORRINGTON.

[A. D. 1663, to 1733.]

GEORGE BYNG, a renowned naval officer, was deſcended from an ancient family in the county of Kent. He was born in the year 1663, and at the age of fifteen, went to ſea as a volunteer in the royal navy, in the ſervice of Charles II. having had the king's warrant given to him, on the recommendation of the duke of York.

In 1681, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangier, he quitted the ſea, and ſerved as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garriſon, till on a vacancy, which quickly happened, the general, who was always his warm patron, made him an enſign in his own company, and ſoon after a lieutenant.

In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the earl of Dartmouth, general of the ſea and land forces, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he kept conſtantly to the ſea ſervice; but did not throw up his commiſſion as a land officer for ſeveral years after.

In the year 1685, he went lieutenant of his Majeſty's (James II.) ſhip Phœnix to the Eaſt Indies; where engaging and boarding a Zigânian pirate, who maintained a deſperate fight, moſt of thoſe who enter-

ed with him were ſlain, himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and the prize ſinking, he was taken up with ſcarcely any remains of life; but, by degrees, he was perfectly recovered.

In the year 1688, being firſt lieutenant to Sir John Aſhby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppoſe the deſigns of the prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entruſted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on among the moſt conſiderable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince; and was the perſon commiſſioned by them to carry their ſecret aſſurances of obedience to his highneſs; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherborne, by admiral Ruſſel. At his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth ſent him, with captain Aylmer and captain Haſtings, to carry a meſſage of ſubmiſſion to the prince at Windſor, who made him captain of the Conſtant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war.

In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate; and was ſecond to Sir George Rooke, in the engagement off Beachy-head.

In the years 1691, and 1692, he was captain of the Royal Oak, and ſerved under Admiral Ruſſel, commander in chief of the fleet. Nor were his merits concealed from that great officer, for he diſtinguiſhed him in a very remarkable manner, by promoting him to the rank of his firſt captain.

In 1702, a war breaking out with France, he accepted the command of the Naſſau; and was at the taking and burning the fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703, he was made rear-admiral of the red by queen Anne; and ſerved in the Mediterranean fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who detached him with a ſquadron of five men of war to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home, he was in great danger of being

being loſt in the great ſtorm which overtook him in the Channel.

In 1704, he ſerved in the grand fleet ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, in ſearch of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the ſquadron, that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar; and, by landing the ſeamen, whoſe valour was on this occaſion remarkably diſtinguiſhed, the place capitulated the third day. He was in the battle off Malaga, which followed ſoon after; and, for his behaviour in that action, her majeſty conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

Towards the latter end of this year, the French having two ſtrong ſquadrons in the Soundings, beſides great numbers of privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng ſailed the latter end of January, 1705, from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen; and, after ſeeing the latter ſafely out of the Channel, he divided his ſquadron to ſuch advantage, that he took twelve of their largeſt privateers, in about two months, together with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty guns, and ſeven merchant ſhips, moſt of them richly laden from the Weſt Indies. This remarkable ſucceſs gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they rarely ventured into the Channel, during the remainder of that year.

The ſame year he was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned one of the burgeſſes for Plymouth; which place he conſtantly after repreſented in parliament, till he was created a peer.

In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a ſquadron to Alicant, with neceſſaries for the army in Spain; and accordingly ſailed on the 20th of March; but, on his arrival off Cape St. Vincent, he heard the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the com-

manded of the earl of Galway, who ſent to the admiral to acquaint him with the diſtreſs he was in; and deſired, that whatever he had brought, for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortola in Catalonia; to which place his lordſhip intended to retreat; and that, if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia; where it was intended to embark every thing that could be got together.

This the admiral performed; and, having ſent the ſick and wounded to Tortola, and being ſoon after joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, from Liſbon, they proceeded together to the coaſt of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty tranſports, to ſecond prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the ſiege of Toulon; in which Sir George ſerved in the ſecond poſt under Sir Cloudeſly, and narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was loſt; for the Royal Anne, in which Sir George carried his flag, was within a ſhip's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloudeſly ſtruck; yet was providentially ſaved by his own and his officers preſence of mind, who, in a minute's time, ſet the ſhip's topſails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains.

In the year 1708, he was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the ſquadron, fitted out to oppoſe the invaſion, intended to be made in Scotland by the pretender, and a French army from Dunkirk. This ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George and lord Durſley ſailed from the Downs for the French coaſt, on the 27th of February; and, having anchored in Gravelin Pits, Sir George went on board a ſmall frigate, and ſailed within two miles of the Flemiſh Road, and there learned the number and ſtrength of the enemy's ſhips.

On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French laid aſide their embarkation; but, upon expreſs orders from their court, were obliged to reſume it; and, on the 6th of March, actually ſailed out of

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the port of Dunkirk; but, being taken ſhort, by contrary winds, came to anchor on the 8th, and then continued their voyage.

Sir George had been obliged, at the time the French fleet ſailed, to come to an anchor under Dungeneſs; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French fleet was ſailed, but whither could not be known; but he was perſuaded their deſtination was for Scotland: whereupon it was reſolved, in a council of war, to purſue the enemy to the Road of Edinburgh; and accordingly, having firſt detached rear-admiral Barker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops to Oſtend, the admiral proſecuted his expedition with the reſt of the fleet.

On the 13th of March, the French were diſcovered in the Firth of Edinburgh; where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a north-eaſt courſe, as if they had intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George purſued them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize, then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of quality on board; many land and ſea officers in the French ſervice, of very great diſtinction; five companies of the regiment of Bern, and all the ſhip's company, conſiſting of three hundred men.

After this, Sir George finding it impoſſible to come up with the enemy, put into the port of Leith, where he continued, till advice was received of the French being returned to Dunkirk.

Before the admiral left Leith Road, the lord provoſt and magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew their grateful ſenſe of the important ſervice he had done them, by thus drawing off the French, before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preſerving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invaſion, reſolved to preſent him with the freedom of their city, by ſending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnſon, their late repreſentative in parliament, with an inſtrument called

a burgeſs ticket, incloſed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the ſide, and theſe words engraven on the cover:

"The lord provoſt, bailies, and town council of Edinburgh did preſent theſe letters to burgeſs Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this iſland from a foreign invaſion, and defeating the deſigns of the French fleet, at the mouth of the Firth of Edinburgh, the 13th of March, 1708."

One would have imagined, that this remarkable ſucceſs muſt have ſatisfied every body; and that, after defeating ſo extraordinary a ſcheme, as this was then allowed to be, and reſtoring public credit, as it were, in an inſtant, there ſhould have been an univerſal tribute of applauſe paid to the admiral by all ranks of people: but ſo far was this from being the caſe, that Sir George Byng had ſcarcely ſet his foot in London, when it was whiſpered, that the parliament would inquire into his conduct; which notion had its riſe from a very fooliſh perſuaſion, that, having once had ſight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleaſed, have taken every ſhip of them, as well as the Saliſbury.

The truth was, that the French, having amuſed the Jacobites in Scotland, with a propoſal of beſieging Edinburgh caſtle, Sir George Byng was particularly inſtructed, by all means, to prevent that undertaking, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, anſwered the purpoſe of his expedition.

But the ſame malicious people, who firſt propagated this ſtory, invented alſo another; namely, that Sir George was alſo hindered from taking the French fleet by his ſhips being foul; which actually produced an inquiry in the houſe of commons; and an addreſs to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ſhips that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng; and when the ſhips

were

were cleaned: which, at laſt, however, ended in this reſolution:

"That the thanks of the houſe be given to the prince, for his great care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great a number of ſhips; whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled ſo happily to prevent the intended invaſion."

This was a very wiſe and well-concerted meaſure, ſince it fully ſatisfied the world of the falſity of theſe reports; and, at the ſame time, gave great ſatisfaction to the queen and her royal conſort, the prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his royal highneſs's character was affected, as lord high admiral.

About the middle of the ſummer, a reſolution was taken to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France, by way of retaliation for the affront ſo lately offered us; and Sir George Byng, as admiral, and lord Durſley, as vice-admiral of the blue, were appointed to carry the ſcheme into execution.

Accordingly, Sir George ſailed from Spithead on the 27th of July, with the fleet and tranſports, having the troops on board, intended for a deſcent, commanded by lieutenant-general Earle; and the next day came to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuſe the enemy, and at the ſame time to be ready for farther orders. The 1ſt of Auguſt, the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the Bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops. On the 3d they ſtood in, pretty near the ſhore, to obſerve the condition of the enemy: and, on the 4th, they weighed again, but came to an anchor about noon in the Bay of Eſtaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have ſeconded, being laid aſide, an expreſs arrived from England; on which the troops were re-embarked.

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In this manner they continued ſeveral days o the coaſt of France, creating the enemy inexpreſſibl trouble; and indeed the true deſign of it was only t diſturb the naval armaments on their coaſts, and oblig the French court to march large bodies of men t protect their maritime towns; which neceſſarily oc caſioned a diminution of their army in Flanders.

The ſame year Sir George had the honour of con ducting the queen of Portugal to Liſbon, where commiſſion was ſent him, appointing him admiral o the white; and her Portugueſe majeſty preſented hi with her picture ſet with diamonds, to a very grea value.

In the year 1709, he was commander in chief o the fleet ſtationed in the Mediterranean; during whic he attempted the relief of the city and caſtle of Ali cant; and at the ſame time, meditated a deſign upo Cadiz; nor was it his fault that both did not ſuc ceed; for he did every thing that could be expecte from him, in order to render theſe important deſign ſucceſsful.

After his return from this expedition, in 1710, h was appointed one of the commiſſioners for executin the office of lord high admiral; in which poſt he con tinued till ſome time before the queen's death; when not falling in with the meaſures of thoſe times, he wa removed; but on the acceſſion of George I. he was re ſtored to that employment; and in the year 1715, on the breaking out of the rebellion, appointed to command a ſquadron in the Downs; with which he kept ſuch a watchful eye on the French coaſt, and ſeized ſuch a great quantity of arms and ammunition, ſhipped there for the pretender's ſervice, that his majeſty, to reward his ſervices, created him a baronet, preſented him with a ring of great value, and gave him other marks of his royal favour.

In the year 1717, he was ſent with a ſquadron into the

the Baltic, on diſcovering that Charles XII. had formed a deſign of making a deſcent upon England.

We are now to enter upon the moſt remarkable ſcene of action our admiral was ever concerned in, and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himſelf and the Britiſh flag. This was the famous expedition of the Britiſh fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's poſſeſſions againſt the invaſion of the Spaniards; who had the year before ſurpriſed Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily.

He ſailed from Spithead about the middle of June 1718, with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. This ſquadron arrived on the 1ſt of Auguſt in the Bay of Naples, into which the fleet ſtanding with a gentle gale, drawn up in a line of battle, moſt of them capital ſhips, and three of them carrying flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation; the ſhore was crowded with multitudes of ſpectators; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity and admiration, that the bay was covered with them.

The viceroy, count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having ſent his compliments to the admiral, he went on ſhore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats; and was ſaluted at his landing by all the cannon round the city and caſtles; and was conducted to the court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies uſually paid to a viceroy of that kingdom.

Here the admiral entered into a conference with count Daun; from whom he learned, that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of 30,000 men, commanded by the marquis

marquis de Lede, had landed on the 2d of July in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were carrying on the ſiege of the citadel, &c.

After the conference, the admiral was ſplendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception.

The next morning they had another conference, on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the viceroy ſhould ſend 200 German foot, in tartans, to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel and Fort St. Salvador, under the protection of the Engliſh fleet; which accordingly ſailed on the 6th of Auguſt from Naples, and arrived on the 9th in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina.

Here the admiral, deſirous of trying every method of negociation, before he proceeded to the extremities of his orders, diſpatched his firſt captain to Meſſina with a letter to the marquis de Lede; wherein, after acquainting him, upon what account he was ſent thither, he propoſed a ceſſation of arms for two months, that their reſpective courts might have time to conclude ſuch reſolutions, as might reſtore a laſting peace; but added, that if he was not ſo happy as to ſucceed in this offer of his ſervice, he ſhould then be obliged to uſe all his force, to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his maſter ſtood engaged to defend.

The general returned for anſwer, that he had no powers to treat; and, conſequently, could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but muſt follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize upon Sicily for his maſter the king of Spain.

According to the beſt accounts the admiral could obtain, he was led to conceive, that the Spaniſh fleet was ſailed from Malta, in order to avoid him, and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's anſwer, he immediately

immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel: but, as he ſtood about the point of the Faro of Meſſina, he ſaw two Spaniſh ſcouts in the Faro; and being informed at the ſame time, by a felucca, which came from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying by, the admiral altered his deſign, and, ſending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood through the Faro with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to the fleet, which accordingly they did; for, before noon, he had a fair view of the whole, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle; the admiral ſoon after came up with them, and a general engagement enſued, in which the Spaniſh fleet was totally demoliſhed: ſix of them endeavoured to eſcape, by ſtanding in for the ſhore; but Sir George ſent a detachment after them, under the command of the gallant captain George Walton, who took four of them, and burned moſt of the fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſhips laden with proviſions and ammunition, which had retreated from the main fleet, under convoy of this ſquadron.

Sir George, as ſoon as the whole fleet was joined, diſpatched his eldeſt ſon to England; who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported; namely, the intire defeat of the Spaniſh fleet; upon which the king had written a letter to the admiral, with his own hand; and he now ſent him a valuable preſent, together with plenipotentiary powers to negociate with the princes and ſtates of the empire, as occaſion ſhould require.

In the mean time, the admiral proſecuted his affairs with great diligence; procured the emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily; brought their Sicilian gallies from Malta; and

ſoon

ſoon after received a letter from the emperor Char VI. written with his own hand, accompanied with picture of his Imperial majeſty, ſet round with lar diamonds, as a mark of the ſervices, which had be rendered by his excellency to the houſe of Auſtria.

Early in the ſpring of 1719, the admiral returned Naples, where he adjuſted every thing with the vic roy and the German general, for the reduction of Sicil in which he acted with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that t Imperial army was tranſported into the iſland, and well ſupplied with all neceſſaries from the fleet, that may be truly ſaid, the ſucceſs of that expedition w as much owing to the Engliſh admiral, as to the Germ general.

It was intirely owing to the admiral's advice, a to his aſſiſtance and ſupplies of cannon, powder, a ball, from his own ſhips, that the Germans retook t city of Meſſina, in the ſummer of the year 171 after which the admiral landed a body of Engliſh gr nadiers, who ſoon made themſelves maſters of t tower of Faro; by which having opened a free paſſa for their ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe Roa This was a ſtep of great conſequence; for the office of the Spaniſh men of war, which were in t Mole, perceiving this, deſpairing of getting out ſea, unbent their ſails, unrigged their ſhips, and r ſolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel. Th gave the admiral great ſatisfaction, as he now fou himſelf at liberty to employ his ſhips in other ſervic which had for a long time been employed in blockin up that port.

But, while things were in this proſperous ſituatio a diſpute aroſe among the allies, about the diſpoſition the Spaniſh ſhips, when, after the citadel was take they ſhould fall of courſe into their hands. This di pute was happily ended by the admiral's propoſing erect a battery, and deſtroy them, as they lay in t baſon

ason; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of Spain completed.

The admiral, in order to ſucceed in the reduction of Sicily, and, at the ſame time, to procure artillery for carrying on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina, went over to Naples in Auguſt; and, finding that the government was unable to furniſh the military ſtores that were wanting, he generouſly granted the cannon out of the Britiſh prizes; and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own riſk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and ſoon after went thither himſelf, in order to haſten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily.

Our admiral was received with great honour and reſpect at Genoa. At his arrival, the town ſaluted his flag with twenty-one guns; and the republic ſent off ſix deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival.

After a ſtay of about three weeks, he ſailed with all the tranſports to Sicily, and arrived before Meſſina on the 8th of October; which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army, then beſieging the citadel, that upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half moon, and carried it. The admiral, repairing aſhore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the moſt tender marks of affection and congratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man, who brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every advantage attending them.

In ten days after the admiral's arrival at Meſſina, the citadel ſurrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland; by which means they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſed to evacuate the iſland; which the Germans were very deſirous of agreeing to, and ſent to Vienna

for inſtructions: but the admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily, and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and ſent his eldeſt ſon to Vienna with inſtructions, if the Imperial liſtened to the propoſal of the Spaniſh general, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for that purpoſe. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a Britiſh admiral; who, after having done ſo many ſervices for the Imperialiſts, might ſurely inſiſt on their doing what was juſt in reſpect to us, and holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, till they gave ample ſatisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna.

After this, the Spaniſh general laid a ſnare to ſeparate the admiral from the Germans, by propoſing an agreement with him for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect. But ſoon after, when the Germans, with the aſſiſtance of the admiral, had begun the ſiege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped, and juſt as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky inſtant from Spain, with full powers for the Spaniſh general to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in conſequence of the king of Spain's acceding to the quadruple alliance: upon which, the two armies were drawn off; a ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on; the Germans put into poſſeſſion of Palermo; and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona.

The admiral, after he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, ſailed in Auguſt 1720, to Cagliari, in Sardinia; where he aſſiſted at the conferences of the miniſters and generals of the ſeveral powers concerned; wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the iſland by the Spaniſh viceroy to the emperor, and the ceſſion of the

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ſame to the duke of Savoy; and, at the inſtance of this prince, the admiral did not depart till he had ſeen the whole fully executed; the Spaniſh troops landed in Spain; and the duke of Savoy was put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the quadruple alliance: in all which affairs the admiral arbitrated ſo equally between them, that even the king of Spain expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction at his conduct, to the Britiſh court: and his behaviour was ſo acceptable to the duke of Savoy, that his ſincere acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture ſet in diamonds.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the Britiſh fleet bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by its operations; both agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued without it. Never was any ſervice conducted, in all its parts, with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor was ever the Britiſh flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe.

His majeſty king George I. who had named the admiral for that expedition, uſed to ſay to his miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent him for his direction on certain important occaſions, that he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed all the meaſures that he took abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home.

After performing ſo many ſignal ſervices, the admiral departed from Italy, to attend his majeſty to Hanover; and the king, among many other gracious expreſſions of favour and ſatisfaction, told him, that he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; and that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgments, his fair and friendly behaviour in the proviſion of tranſports, and other neceſſaries, for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexatious oppreſſions

that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with ſuch talents, and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, and an honeſt man.

During his majeſty's ſtay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent ſervices of Sir George Byng, by making him treaſurer of the navy, and rear admiral of Great Britain; and on his return to England, one of his moſt honourable privy-council.

In the year 1721, he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of viſcount Torrington, and baron Byng, of Southill, in Bedfordſhire: and, in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the bath, upon the revival of that order.

At his late majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, he was made firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; in which high ſtation he continued to his death, which happened at his houſe in the Admiralty, in June 1733. He was buried at Southill, in Bedfordſhire.

During the time he preſided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval power of this kingdom; in procuring encouragement for ſeamen, who in him loſt a true friend; in promoting the ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a corporation for the relief of widows and children of commiſſion and warrant officers in the royal navy; and in every other ſervice to his country that he was capable of.

He married, in 1692, Margaret, daughter of James Maſter, of Eaſt Landen, in Kent, Eſq. by whom he had eleven ſons and four daughters; but only three of the former, and one of the latter, ſurvived him.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Smollet's Hiſt. of England.

THE

THE LIFE OF JOHN CAMPBELL,

DUKE OF ARGYLE AND GREENWICH.

[A. D. 1678, to 1743.]

JOHN CAMPBELL, an able, honeſt politician, a ſteady patriot, and a celebrated general, was born in the year 1678.

In early youth he diſcovered a ſolid, penetrating judgment, and ready wit; but having, at the ſame time, taken a reſolution to enter into the military ſervice, he did not ſo aſſiduouſly devote himſelf to his ſtudies, as he might otherwiſe have done; though, before he was fifteen, he had made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and ſome branches of philoſophy; but, when he came to riper years, he retrieved this deficiency, by reading the beſt authors; which, joined to the knowledge of mankind he had acquired, by being early engaged in affairs of the greateſt importance, enabled him to give that luſtre to his natural genius, which diſtinguiſhed him as an orator and a man of learning, upon many remarkable occaſions, in parliament.

In 1694, when not full ſeventeen years of age, king William gave him the command of a regiment.

His father, the firſt duke of Argyle, dying in 1703, his grace was ſoon after ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council, appointed captain of the Scotch horſe-guards and one of the extraordinary lords of ſeſſion of Scotland.

In 1704, he was inſtalled one of the knights of the thiſtle; and, in 1705, he was made a peer of England by the title of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich.

At the battle of Ramilies, in 1706, he acted as brigadier-general; and, though but a young man, gave ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct. He alſo com-

manded at the ſiege of Oſtend, as brigadier-general; and in the ſame ſtation at that of Menin; and was in the action of Oudenard, in 1708. At the ſiege of Ghent, in the ſame year, he commanded as major-general, and took poſſeſſion of the town.

In 1709, at the ſiege of Tournay, which was carried on by three attacks, he commanded one of them in quality of lieutenant-general, to which rank he had been raiſed a few months before. At the bloody battle of Malplaquet, the ſame year, the duke of Argyle was ordered to diſlodge the enemy from the wood of Sart; which he executed with great bravery and reſolution, pierced through it, and gained a conſiderable poſt; but narrowly eſcaped, having ſeveral muſquet-balls through his clothes, hat, and periwig.

In 1711, he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to king Charles III. of Spain, and generaliſſimo of the Britiſh forces in that kingdom.

On the 8th of September, 1712, the ceſſation of arms between Great Britain and France was notified to the Imperial general; upon which the duke of Argyle ſailed with the Engliſh troops to Port Mahon; where, when he arrived, he cauſed the emperor's colours to be taken down, and the Britiſh to be hoiſted on the ſeveral caſtles of that iſland; the governor, refuſing to take an oath of fidelity to queen Anne, had leave to retire; but the reſt of the magiſtrates complied.

After his grace's return to England, he did not remain long in the favour of the miniſtry, for he heartily joined in oppoſing all ſecret intrigues againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; and, in 1713, his grace made a motion in the houſe of lords, for diſſolving the Union, occaſioned by a malt-bill, being brought into the houſe, for Scotland: which motion was carried in the negative, by four voices only; and, in the ſpring of the year 1714, he was deprived of all the employments he held under the crown.

Upon the acceſſion of George I. his grace was one

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of the nineteen members of the regency nominated by his majeſty; and on the king's arrival in England, he was immediately taken into favour at court, and made general and commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland.

In conſequence of this commiſſion, his grace commanded the army, when the rebellion broke out in Scotland, in 1715: and, having received his inſtructions for ſuppreſſing it, he went to Edinburgh, where he publiſhed a proclamation for increaſing the forces; from whence he marched to Leith, and ſummoned the citadel, into which brigadier M'Intoſh, one of the pretender's generals, had retired, to ſurrender; but, upon M'Intoſh ſending for anſwer, that he was determined to hold out, and neither to give nor take quarter, if they engaged, the duke, who could not carry the place for want of artillery, thought proper to retire, and return to Edinburgh.

The particulars of this rebellion are ſo well known, and ſo fully related in "Oldmixon's Annals of George I." that it ſeems only neceſſary, in this place, to mention, that his grace, during the whole courſe of it, exerted himſelf in the moſt proper manner, againſt the enemies of his majeſty, king George, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; and, after having put the army into winter quarters, he returned to London, and arrived there in the month of March, 1716, and was moſt graciouſly received by his majeſty; but, in a few months, to the ſurpriſe of all mankind, he was turned out of all his places. But the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. was pleaſed to expreſs an eſteem for him, which continued many years, both while he was under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, and after the reconciliation.

It is in the duke's conduct in parliament, that we muſt ſearch for the reaſon of his political diſgrace. We muſt therefore review it with attention; and it muſt likewiſe be obſerved, to his grace's honour, that he joined with thoſe humane perſons, who recommended

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it to the miniſtry in vain, to be more merciful to the delinquents, after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed.

In June 1715, when the famous ſchiſm bill was brought into the houſe of lords, he oppoſed it with great zeal and ſtrength of argument. In the debate on the mutiny bill, he oppoſed any extenſion of the military power, and urged the neceſſity of a reduction of the ſtanding army, a ſtep which was by no means agreeable to the court.

In the beginning of the year 1719, his grace was again admitted into his majeſty's favour, who was pleaſed to appoint him lord-ſteward of his houſehold, and to create him duke of Greenwich.

In 1722, the duke of Argyle diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of lords, in the very intereſting debate, on the bill for baniſhing the famous Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter; and it was chiefly owing to his grace's perſuaſive eloquence that the bill paſſed.

In 1726, his grace was appointed colonel of the prince of Wales's regiment of horſe. But notwithſtanding theſe promotions, the duke, with patriotic zeal for his native country, warmly oppoſed the extenſion of the malt tax this year to Scotland.

From this time, we have no memoirs of any tranſactions, in the life of this great man, deſerving public notice, till the year 1737, when a bill was brought into parliament, for puniſhing the lord provoſt of Edinburgh, for aboliſhing the city guard, and for depriving the corporation of ſeveral ancient privileges, on account of the inſurrection in 1736, when the mob broke into the priſon, and took out captain Porteous and hanged him. The duke of Argyle oppoſed this bill with great warmth, in the houſe of lords, as an act of unjuſt ſeverity: his grace's oppoſition to this bill highly diſpleaſed the miniſtry, but they did not think proper to ſhew any public marks of reſentment at that time.

In 1739, when the convention with Spain was brought before the houſe, for their approbation, he ſpoke with warmth

warmth againſt it, and, in the ſame ſeſſion, his grace oppoſed a vote of credit, as there was no ſum limited in the meſſage ſent by his majeſty.

On the 15th of April, 1740, the houſe took into conſideration the ſtate of the army, upon which occaſion he made an elegant ſpeech; wherein he ſet forth, with great ſtrength of argument, the miſconduct of the miniſtry, ſhewing a tender regard for the perſon of his ſovereign, while he exerted an unfeigned zeal for the good of the community. Sir Robert Walpole being exaſperated at this ſtep, his grace was ſoon after diſmiſſed from all his employments.

Upon the election of a new parliament, in 1741, on the application of the city of Edinburgh, and ſeveral corporations, who addreſſed him in form at that time, he pointed out to them men of ſteady, honeſt, and loyal principles, and independent fortunes; and, where he had any intereſt, he endeavoured to prevail with the electors to chuſe ſuch men.

When the parliament was opened, the miniſter found he had not influence to maintain his ground; and a parliamentary inquiry into his conduct being ſet on foot, he was diſcharged from his poſt, and created a peer, with the title of earl of Orford.

His royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, and the duke of Argyle, had a principal ſhare in the diſgrace of Sir Robert.

The duke, in conſequence of this change, became the darling of the people, and he ſeemed likewiſe to be perfectly reſtored to favour at court; for, he was made maſter-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, and field-marſhal and commander in chief of all the forces in South Britain. But, in a few months, his grace, perceiving that a change of men produced little or no change of meaſures, he reſigned all his poſts, and from this time retired from public buſineſs, ever after courting privacy, and living in retirement.

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The duke had been, for ſome years, labouring under a paralytic diſorder, which put a period to his life in the year 1743.

His grace married, when young, Mary, daughter of John Brown, Eſq. and niece of Sir Charles Duncomb, lord mayor of London; but ſhe dying in 1708, without iſſue, he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheſhire, Eſq. By her he had four daughters; the eldeſt of whom married the earl of Dalkeith, ſon and heir apparent to the duke of Buccleugh; and the ſecond the earl of Strafford; both in his life-time.

His grace was a tender father, and an indulgent maſter; he was delicate in the choice of his friends, but, when choſen, very conſtant to them; he was ſlow of promiſing favours; but, when promiſed, the performance was ſure; though he often choſe rather to purchaſe preferment for his relations, than to beg it.

He was naturally compaſſionate to all mankind; and when he met with the man of merit in want, his bounty was very extenſive; nor would he keep the man, he was either unable or unwilling to ſerve, in ſuſpenſe.

He preſerved a dignity in his behaviour which was often miſtaken for pride; but he was naturally facetious among his ſelect friends.

A ſuperb monument was erected in Weſtminſter-abbey to his memory, Sir William Fermor, while his grace was living, having left 500l. to defray the expence of it, out of regard to the great merit of his grace, both as a general and a patriot.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Annals of George I. and II.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

EARL OF ORFORD.

[A. D. 1674, to 1745.]

THIS great ſtateſman, whoſe tranſactions, while he was at the head of the treaſury, and governed the councils of Great Britain, make a conſpicuous figure in the annals of George the Firſt and Second, was born in the year 1664, and was deſcended from a family, which had flouriſhed in the county of Norfolk, and had been reputed amongſt thoſe of chief note, ever ſince the reign of Edward I.

He was educated on the foundation at Eton ſchool; and from thence elected to King's College in Cambridge. He was firſt choſen to ſerve in parliament for King's Lynn, in Norfolk, in the year 1700; and he repreſented that borough, in ſeveral ſucceeding parliaments.

In 1705, Mr. Walpole was appointed, by her majeſty queen Anne, to be one of the council to his royal highneſs, prince George of Denmark, lord-high-admiral of England, in the affairs of the admiralty.

In 1707, he was made ſecretary at war; and, in 1709, treaſurer of the navy.

Upon Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment, he was choſen one of the managers of the houſe of commons to make good the articles againſt him; and the managers had the thanks of the houſe of commons for their ſervices.

On the change of the miniſtry, which happened in Auguſt 1710, he was removed from all his poſts, and was not reſtored to any public employment under the crown, during the remainder of the queen's reign.

His oppoſition to the Tory adminiſtration, and his attachment

attachment to the great duke of Marlborough, brought upon him a farther diſgrace, in the ſeſſion of parliament in 1711; for he was charged, by the commiſſioners appointed by the houſe of commons to examine the public accounts, with having received the ſum of five hundred guineas, and a note for five hundred more, while he was ſecretary at war, as douceurs for granting two advantageous contracts, to ſupply forage for the cavalry quartered in Scotland. This the Tory party repreſented as an heinous offence, and, having ſecured a majority, they voted Mr. Walpole guilty of a high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption, for which he was expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower.

But his known abilities, and his remarkable zeal for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, which he had ſo warmly and ſucceſsfully aſſerted, brought him into the ſervice of his country again, ſoon after king George the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne; and accordingly he was made paymaſter to the guards and garriſons at home, and to the forces abroad, in September, 1714, five days after the king's landing. And a new privy-council being appointed to meet on the 1ſt of October, 1715, he was ſworn in, and took his place accordingly. On the 10th of the ſame month, he was conſtituted firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and, the ſame year, choſen chairman to the committee of ſecrecy, appointed by the houſe of commons to inquire into the conduct of thoſe evil miniſters, who brought a reproach on the nation, by the unſuitable concluſion of a war, which had been carried on, in the late reign, at ſo vaſt an expence, and had been attended with ſuch unparalleled ſucceſſes.

Mr. Walpole took an active part in this buſineſs, and, in the ſeſſion of parliament of this year, he was made chairman of that committee of ſecrecy, upon whoſe report, the houſe ordered Mr. Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley

Harley into cuſtody, for the part they had taken in negociating the peace. He likewiſe impeached the famous lord Bolingbroke, who, foreſeeing the ſtorm, had fled to France.

In the month of April, 1717, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, the better to enable him to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the deſigns of Sweden. The meſſage was delivered; and the ſupply moved for, by Mr. Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate; and it occaſioned a very warm debate, in which the friends of the cabinet were divided, and ſome of the miniſter's immediate dependents voted againſt the motion. Mr. Walpole himſelf remained ſilent; but finding it was carried by ſo ſmall a majority as four votes, and lord Townſhend being diſmiſſed from the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for voting againſt this ſupply in the upper houſe, Mr. Walpole, the very next day, waited on the king, and reſigned all his employments. His example was followed by the duke of Devonſhire, Mr. Pulteney, and all the principal Whigs in office. But on the very day of his reſignation, he brought into the houſe of commons the famous *Sinking-Fund* bill.

On the 4th of June 1720, a coalition of parties took place; Mr. Walpole's friends, the duke of Devonſhire, lord Townſhend, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Methuen, were reſtored to the royal favour; and he was once more made paymaſter-general of all his majeſty's forces, and on the fourth of May, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

His majeſty declaring to his parliament, on the twenty-ſixth of May 1723, that ſome extraordinary affairs required his preſence abroad for the ſummer, was pleaſed to nominate Mr. Walpole one of the lords juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government; and he was, by his majeſty's command, ſworn ſole ſecretary of ſtate, during the abſence of the lord viſcount

Townſhend, and the lord Carteret, who accompanied the king to Hanover.

In the month of May 1725, the king revived the ancient and honourable military order of the knights of the bath, in honour of his ſecond ſon prince William, duke of Cumberland, who was made the firſt knight; the duke of Montague was appointed grand maſter; and, among the knights, were Mr. Robert Walpole and his eldeſt ſon lord Walpole. This gentleman had been created a peer by letters patent in 1723, and the reaſons aſſigned for conferring this dignity are ſtated in the preamble to the patent, which contains the higheſt encomiums on the public character of Sir Robert, and the promiſing genius of his ſon. The whole number of knights was 38, including the ſovereign, by whom they were inveſted with great ſolemnity on the 27th. And, on the 7th of June, the ſame year, his majeſty declared him one of the lords juſtices, for the adminiſtration of affairs during his continuance at Hanover.

On the 26th of May 1726, Sir Robert was elected knight-companion of the moſt noble order of the garter (with his grace the duke of Richmond), and inſtalled at Windſor on the 16th of June following.

Such ſignal honours, thus rapidly beſtowed on himſelf and family, excited the envy of the ambitious; and the meaſures of his adminiſtration being novel, bold, and not always very defenſible, the preſs teemed with invectives againſt him. He was ſtyled the father of corruption, and a ſtrong party was formed to diſplace him; but, having ſecured an intereſt in the heir to the throne, all the deſigns of his adverſaries proved abortive, by the ſudden death of George I. in 1727; and they had the mortification to ſee him enjoy a ſtill greater plenitude of power, ſoon after the acceſſion of George II. To examine the meaſures of his long adminiſtration, as prime or rather ſole miniſter of Great Britain, with impartiality, conſidered in a political light,

light, would be extremely difficult; and, after all, it would be impoſſible to give ſatisfaction, his public character appearing odious in the ſight of one party, while it has been as laviſhly applauded by the other. On this account, and becauſe ſuch an inveſtigation would likewiſe require the introduction of a ſeries of national events ſufficient of themſelves to form a volume, we refer the curious reader to the hiſtories of thoſe times.

Sir Robert Walpole continued to be prime miniſter till the year 1742, when the election for members for Weſtminſter being carried againſt the court by two voices, and that for Chippenham by one, he thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring from a houſe, in which even ſo ſmall a majority had it in their power at any time to impeach him. Accordingly, having been very roughly handled in the debate, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared he would never enter it again.

But what fixed his reſolution, to throw up all his employments, was a ſtep taken by the prince of Wales, his preſent majeſty's father, who, being at that time at variance with the king, made the removal of this miniſter a preliminary article of reconciliation, to which his majeſty acceded; and Sir Robert, to avoid the diſgrace of being diſmiſſed, reſigned. The reconciliation took place immediately between the king and the prince; but his majeſty, unwilling to let Sir Robert's enemies enjoy too great a triumph, called him up to the houſe of peers, by creating him baron of Houghton (the ſeat of the family), viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford. However, the royal protection could not ſcreen him from a parliamentary inquiry into his conduct. In March 1742, lord Limerick moved the houſe of commons, that a committee might be appointed to inquire into the conduct of affairs, at home and abroad, for the laſt twenty years (the ſpace of time the late miniſter had been at the helm); but this mo-

tion being thought too general, both as to time and matter, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of only two voices. Not diſcouraged by this diſappointment, the ſame nobleman, a few days after, made another motion: "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford, during the laſt ten years of his being firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer."—This motion was carried by a majority of ſeven; and a committee of ſecrecy, conſiſting of twenty-one members, was elected by ballot.

On the 13th of April, lord Limerick reported from the committee, that they had been greatly obſtructed in their proceedings, by the obſtinacy of Nicholas Paxton, Eſq. late ſolicitor to the treaſury; of Gwynn Vaughan, Eſq. and of Mr. Scroop, ſecretary to the treaſury, who refuſed to anſwer interrogatories put to them by the committee. Upon which, the houſe committed Paxton to Newgate; and as this gentleman and his aſſociates had pleaded in their defence, that the laws of England did not compel any man to reveal matters tending to accuſe themſelves, in order to obviate this difficulty, a bill of indemnity was paſſed for ſuch perſons as ſhould, upon examination, make diſcoveries concerning the diſpoſition of public money, or offices, or any payment or agreement in reſpect thereof, or concerning other matters, relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. This bill, after a long debate, was rejected in the houſe of lords; and no man oppoſed it more ſtrenuouſly than lord Carteret, the profeſſed enemy of lord Orford. This able ſtateſman conſidered it, as opening a door, to the inferior ſervants of the crown, to accuſe the ſuperior officers of ſtate, upon every change of the miniſtry with impunity; to which they might be tempted by the hopes of ſecuring their places under a new adminiſtration.

The friends of the bill in the lower houſe complained of an obſtruction of public juſtice; and they examined

amined the journals of the houſe of peers, for precedents of ſuch a refuſal, to concur with the commons in an affair of national juſtice. In a word, a great miſunderſtanding was created between the two houſes, which would have been carried to violent lengths, if the king had not prorogued the parliament, and thus ſaved his old ſervant; for the cry of vengeance without doors extended to his life, and it was openly declared, that nothing leſs than his head could be accepted as an atonement for his crimes.

In the next ſeſſion of parliament, on the firſt of December, 1743, the motion was revived for appointing a committee, for the ſame purpoſes as that of the preceding year; but it was rejected by a majority of 67 votes.

Thus ended an inquiry, which had thrown the nation into a general ferment; but which did little more than bring to light an offence, univerſally ſuſpected or known to have been practiſed by moſt prime miniſters, and likely to be continued, as long as ſo much unconſtitutional power is veſted in any one man: We mean, a miſapplication of more or leſs of the public money, to the purpoſes of ſupporting that power, by bribes to needy, venal dependents.

When this ſtorm was over, the earl of Orford retired from public life, his Majeſty having granted him a penſion of 4000l. per annum; but he did not long enjoy his happy retreat; for his unwearied attention to the buſineſs of his high ſtation, for ſuch a long courſe of years, had impaired his conſtitution, which yielded to the infirmities of an advanced age, and cloſed the life of this famous ſtateſman, in the year 1745.

Diverſity of ſentiments will always render his public character a doubtful one; but all his contemporaries agree in beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on his private conduct.

He is repreſented to have been a tender parent, a

kind maſter, a beneficent patron, a firm friend, and a moſt agreeable companion.

Mr. Horace Walpole, his ſon, has given the earl of Orford a place in his catalogue of Noble Authors; but it is proper to obſerve, that his lordſhip's literary abilities ſeem to have been confined to the ſphere of life, in which he moved: for, all he is known to have written or publiſhed are political tracts, on temporary and local ſubjects; of which a liſt is given in the ſaid catalogue, vol. II. and in the Supplement, or vol. XII. of the New General Biographical Dictionary: To which authorities, and the beſt hiſtorians of the time when lord Orford flouriſhed, we are indebted for theſe memoirs.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN DALRYMPLE,

EARL OF STAIR.

[A. D. 1673, to 1747.]

THIS celebrated general, and accompliſhed ſtateſman, was the eldeſt ſon of John Dalrymple, Eſq. created, for his ſervices to king William at the Revolution, firſt viſcount, and afterwards earl, of Stair. His mother was the lady Elizabeth Dundas, daughter to Sir John Dundas, of Newliſton: he was born in the year 1673; and, even while an infant, diſcovered an ardour for military glory. He very early muſtered up a regiment of young boys of his own age, denominating them after his own name; and it was ſurpriſing to obſerve, in how ſhort a time, they were enabled to go through the ſeveral evolutions of the military exerciſe; while their alacrity, when under the eye of their young commander, gave a ſure prelude of that ſuperior greatneſs

neſs of ſoul, which afterwards appeared in him, and procured him both the confidence of his ſovereign, and the admiration of his country. Like another Cyrus, he diſcouraged every thing that was daſtardly and unbecoming, in the young gentlemen of his own age; and, with the utmoſt addreſs, encouraged what was manly, becoming, and virtuous, in them.

Scarcely was he arrived at the age of ten years, when he made the moſt ſurpriſing progreſs in the Greek and Latin tongues; and, being well acquainted with theſe, the French became eaſy to him. He was trained up by a governor for ſome years, and then put to the college of Edinburgh, under a guardian, where he had run through the whole courſe of his ſtudies in that ſeminary, at the fourteenth year of his age, and was deſigned by his father for the law; but his paſſion for the military life was unconquerable.

He left the college of Edinburgh in the year 1687, and went over to Holland, where he paſſed through the firſt military gradations, under the eye of that diſtinguiſhed and auguſt commander, king William III. then prince of Orange; who ſhewed him great reſpect, in the preſence of his general officers, and treated him with the tenderneſs of an affectionate father.

It was here that our young hero learned fortification and gunnery; in which he afterwards improved, under the eye of the famous engineer Coehorn: here likewiſe he laid the foundation of that free and diſintereſted ſpirit, which he breathed in every air, and practiſed in every clime, for the ſervice of his country; and about this time he learned the French, Spaniſh, German, Italian, and Dutch languages; all of which he ſpoke with great purity.

At the time of the glorious Revolution, he came over to Scotland, and in ſo particular a manner laid down the hardſhips of the Proteſtants, as to draw compaſſion from all who heard him; and by a juſt repreſentation of the deſigns of the houſe of Bourbon, which

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at that time he could ſhrewdly gueſs at, he confirmed thoſe who were already engaged for the prince of Orange, in the good opinion they had formed of his cauſe, and prevailed upon others to embark in the ſcheme. In a word, he performed the moſt ſubſtantial ſervices; for, being, with his father and grandfather, at the convention of the ſtates, he ſeconded their arguments with the moſt nervous eloquence: and the deputies were charmed, to ſee ſuch a noble tenderneſs and unaffected ſympathy in a young man, whoſe geſture and mien commanded admiration from all who heard him.

He was among the firſt to declare for king William; and went up, with his father, to London, to pay his homage to the deliverer of the nation; by whom he was moſt graciouſly received, and taken into his Majeſty's ſervice. He attended the king to Ireland, continued with him as one of his life-guards, during all his military excurſions in that kingdom: and acted the moſt heroic part, at that time, that poſſibly could have been expected from the moſt enterpriſing officer. He alſo accompanied his majeſty on his return to England, attended him while there, and accompanied him to Holland in the beginning of the year 1691.

King William was received at the Hague with the loudeſt acclamations, not only by the ſtates general, but by the populace; and no perſon in his retinue was more careſſed than young Dalrymple, whoſe early zeal in the Proteſtant cauſe was not forgotten. Ambaſſadors from moſt of the German courts arrived at the Hague ſoon after, to congratulate the king on his ſucceſs, and to enter into new engagements with him for ſupporting the liberties of Europe; to which they were animated by the lively repreſentation, made by his majeſty, of the critical juncture of affairs; and came to a reſolution of raiſing two hnndred and twenty-two thouſand men againſt France, whereof twenty thouſand

thouſand were to be raiſed from the national Britiſh forces.

Upon this occaſion it was, that his majeſty conferred a colonel's commiſſion upon Mr. Dalrymple; with which he ſerved under his great commander at the battle of Steenkirk, fought on the 3d of Auguſt, 1692; when the Engliſh bravery ſhone with the brighteſt luſtre; for, though they could not force a camp fortified with hedges, and lined by cannon advantageouſly poſted upon eminences, yet they cut off the flower of the French troops, beſides five hundred officers, who were left dead on the field of battle.

No Britiſh officer ſignalized himſelf more in this engagement, than colonel Dalrymple. He ſeveral times rallied his regiment, when the ranks were broken by the cannon, and brought them back to the charge; performed miracles of bravery with them; and was inſtrumental in ſaving many troops from being cut in pieces, as he ſtopped the purſuit, till they had time to rally and renew the attack.

From this time to the year 1702, we have no memoirs of colonel Dalrymple: but, in the campaign of that year, we find him taking a vigorous part, in the expulſion of the French from the Spaniſh Guelderland, under the command of the great duke of Marlborough.

The duke now honoured colonel Dalrymple with his particular notice, having obſerved his alacrity and reſolution in the purſuit of the enemy; and that, to all the ardour of a brave young ſoldier, he added the wiſdom and conduct of an old, experienced officer; and though the duke, by a national prejudice, was not very fond of encouraging Scotſmen, yet his ſingular merit overcame that obſtacle, and his grace held him ever after in the higheſt eſteem.

The firſt effect of the duke's friendſhip, was his promoting our hero to be colonel of the royal North Britiſh dragoons; and this regiment being ordered, on the 9th of March, 1703, to ſupport a battery erect-

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ed to deſtroy the walls of Peer, a ſmall town in the biſhoprick of Liege, held by the French, the new colonel ſtood at the head of his regiment for ſeveral hours, while the troops were falling on each ſide of him, without the leaſt alteration of countenance, or deſire to retreat, notwithſtanding a furious cannonade from that quarter of the town.

Never was man more generous to the officers, or more popular among the ſoldiers, than he; for he ſo animated them by his example, by his motion, and voice, that, after having made a ſufficient breach in the walls, he marched up ſword in hand; was the firſt to ſcale the ladder, with a drawn ſword in one hand, and a piſtol in the other: he warded off the blow of a French grenadier, which was aimed at him, ſhot him dead on the ſpot, and mounted the wall, almoſt alone. The troops ſoon followed ſo glorious an example, and crowded about their leader, then expoſed to the fire, not only of the batteries, but of the ſmall arms of the enemy; who, being driven from their poſts in confuſion, communicated the conſternation to their comrades, who quickly deſerted the town.

The news of the taking of Peer was carried quickly through the army, which reſounded the praiſes of colonel Dalrymple.

The undaunted courage, ſhewn by his regiment upon this occaſion, threw a damp upon the French army; and, though ſecured by moraſſes and intrenchments, and ſuperior in numbers, they refuſed to wait the coming up of the allies, but ſilently decamped in the night; while the duke of Burgundy, aſhamed of that inactivity, which ended ſo ingloriouſly for him, repaired to Verſailles, leaving the command to Marſhal Boufflers, who was only dexterous in commanding a flying camp, bombarding a city, or ſeizing a poſt by ſurpriſe.

It would be an endleſs detail, to follow this brave officer from town to town, and from action to action, during

during the time that he ſerved under the duke of Marlborough; eſpecially as an account of the duke's campaigns has already been given in the life of that general. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that colonel Dalrymple ſignalized himſelf in the ſame manner at the ſiege of Venloo, as he had done at Peer; he was the firſt to climb up the rampart, and force his way into the fort; and no ſooner was he on the wall, than he flew into the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and by his intrepidity facilitated the ſurrender of the place.

At the aſſault on the citadel of Venloo, when the fort of Chartreuſe was taken by the allies, colonel Dalrymple gave freſh proofs of his intrepidity; and he had the happineſs to ſave the life of the prince of Heſſe Caſſel, afterwards king of Sweden; who, in wreſting the colours from a French officer, was upon the point of being cut down by the ſabre of a grenadier, which Dalrymple obſerving, inſtantly ſhot the grenadier dead upon the ſpot with a piſtol.

The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, in Flanders, obliged Louis XIV. to ſue for peace, after the campaign of 1708; and the duke of Marlborough returned home in March, 1709, when he took occaſion to introduce colonel Dalrymple to her majeſty, as an officer who had performed the moſt ſignal ſervices in the campaigns in the Low Countries; and, as he ſoon after ſucceeded to the title of earl of Stair, by the death of his father, the queen, as a reward for his military conduct, and as a firſt eſſay of his political abilities, was pleaſed to appoint him her ambaſſador-extraordinary to Auguſtus II. king of Poland, one of the allies. The negociations for peace being broken off, the earl of Stair left the court of Warſaw for a ſhort time, and joined the duke of Marlborough at the ſiege of Douay, in Flanders; where he concerted with him, the meaſures proper to be taken by the king of Poland againſt the Swedes.

During the time that he ſtaid in the Britiſh army,

a ſpecial commiſſion arrived from England, to inveſt him with the enſigns of the ancient and honourable Order of the Thiſtle; and the ceremony was accordingly performed by the duke of Marlborough, aſſiſted by the earls of Orrery and Orkney; and ſoon after his lordſhip returned to Warſaw, to proſecute the buſineſs of his embaſſy; which was to induce the king of Poland to enter into an offenſive alliance with the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, againſt Charles XII. king of Sweden, the powerful ally of France.

The ſucceſs of this negociation was owing, in a great meaſure, to the amiable qualities of the earl of Stair, by which he gained the intire confidence and eſteem of the king of Poland, who entered heartily into all the meaſures of the allies.

His lordſhip remained four years at the Poliſh court: in which time he formed an intimate acquaintance with moſt of the foreign ambaſſadors, and framed to himſelf a clear idea of the intereſts of the ſeveral courts in the north. He is thought, by ſome, to have been the firſt, who, by means of the duke of Marlborough, projected the renunciation of Bremen and Verden, on the part of the king of Denmark, in favour of king George I. and, as this was an additional jewel to his majeſty's German dominions, ſo it was afterwards the very means by which Sweden was ſaved; as one million of crowns were granted by king George I. to that kingdom, and a powerful fleet ſent up the Baltic, to ſtop the incurſions of the Ruſſians, and to bring about a peace, which was afterwards actually concluded.

He was called home in the year 1713, when he was ſtripped of all his employments; and having lived very ſplendidly at Warſaw, he contracted ſome debts, which at that time lay heavy upon him. His plate and equipage were ready to be arreſted; and perhaps would have been expoſed to ſale, if one Mr. Lawſon, who was a lieutenant in the Cameronian regiment, had not generouſly lent him the ſum of 1800l. and it is hard

hard to ſay, whether Mr. Lawſon's friendſhip, or the earl of Stair's gratitude, ever after, was moſt to be admired.

He now returned from court to his own eſtate; thus following the fate of his patron, the duke of Marlborough, who had been ſerved in the ſame manner about two years before.

But he did not remain long in retirement; for, upon the acceſſion of George I. he was diſtinguiſhed by that diſcerning monarch, as one of the ſteady friends to his illuſtrious houſe, and as ſuch he was received into favour; and, upon the 28th of October, 1714, was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber; the next day he was ſworn one of the privy council; and, in November, was made commander in chief of all his majeſty's forces in Scotland.

The ſcene now changed in favour of the duke of Marlborough, whoſe friends were, for the moſt part, choſen to repreſent the counties and boroughs, in the parliament, that was ſummoned to meet on the 17th of March, 1715: and, in Scotland, the oppoſers of the former miniſtry prevailed; and the earl of Stair, though abſent, was elected one of the ſixteen peers to ſit in the firſt ſeptennial parliament.

Ambaſſadors were now ſent to the ſeveral courts in Europe, to notify the king's acceſſion; and, as the French court was both the moſt ſplendid, and her intrigues the moſt dangerous, it was requiſite to fix upon an ambaſſador, poſſeſſed of an enterpriſing genius, great fortitude, a polite addreſs, and deep penetration. The perſon thought of, by the duke of Marlborough, and by the king himſelf, was lord Stair; who, on his being introduced to his royal maſter, was complimented on his prudent management in Poland, and intruſted with diſcretionary powers.

He ſet out for Paris in January, 1715, and, in a few days after, entered that capital in ſo ſplendid a manner, that the other ambaſſadors admired his mag-

nificence; but it was conſidered by the proud old monarch, as an inſult offered to him in his own capital, that a petty prince, whom only a few months before, he had entertained hopes of depriving of even his electoral title and dominions in Germany, ſhould, upon his aſcending a throne ſo unexpectedly, authoriſe his ambaſſador to make a more ſplendid appearance, than the miniſter of any potentate had ever done before at Paris.

He was not many days there, before an opportunity offered of exerciſing his political talents to advantage; of confirming his royal maſter in the good opinion he had formed of him, and of increaſing the fears of the French king; who had heard of his character, and was chagrined at his conduct, in a very ſhort time after he had reſided at his court.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that the harbour of Dunkirk ſhould be filled up; and that the dykes which form the canal and moles ſhould be deſtroyed.

There had been a pretended execution of this article, but nothing like fulfilling of the treaty; and the king had ordered a haven and canal to be made at Mardyke, which were much more capacious than thoſe of Dunkirk itſelf. Mr. Prior, the former ambaſſador, had complained of it, and inſiſted that the treaty ſhould be fulfilled. An anſwer, full of the moſt evaſive arguments, had been given, which was far from being ſatisfactory; and as the matter ſtill continued open, his excellency, the earl of Stair, laid a clear repreſentation of the caſe before the French miniſtry; in which he demonſtrated, that the works, according to the treaty, ought to be deſtroyed by engineers, and not left to the waſtings of time, or encroachments of the ſea, which every thing was ſubject to. He ſet forth, that it was inconſiſtent, in the nature of things, to think that the haven was demoliſhed, while another was built in its neighbourhood, which might prove more detrimental

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to the commerce of the Britiſh ſubjects, than Dunkirk itſelf. He pointed out a way to carry off the back waters, without overflowing the country, as they pretended, and that with little trouble or expence; and then demanded ſuch an anſwer as might be ſatisfactory to his royal maſter and his ſubjects, and prevent the bad effects which might be the reſult of a contrary conduct.

To this it was given in reply, that all imaginable forwardneſs had been ſhewn, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king, exactly to fulfil the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, till hindered by the Engliſh commiſſaries themſelves: that the canal, which he was obliged to open, for preventing the ſubmerſion of a vaſt extent of country, and ſaving the lives of its inhabitants, ought to give no umbrage to Great Britain; ſince his inclination was not to keep fleets there for diſturbing the navigation and commerce of his neighbours: and that he deſired nothing more, than that France and Great Britain ſhould unite in the ſtricteſt bands of correſpondence and friendſhip.

Thus did the French court elude the force of the treaty, and openly pretend to live in harmony with the king of Great Britain, while they were actually meditating an invaſion in favour of the pretender to his crown.

But the earl of Stair was not to be deceived; and, ſuſpecting the ſecret deſigns of the king, a faſt friend to the houſe of Stuart, he, with uncommon addreſs and vigilance, got to the bottom of the ſecret machinations of the French court; and tranſmitted home ſuch early and exact intelligence concerning the intended invaſion, that the pretender's enterpriſe failed, and a great number of his abettors in England were taken into cuſtody; by which means, the rebellion actually begun in his favour in Scotland, under the conduct of the earl of Mar, was checked in time, and its final ſuppreſſion facilitated.

Various ſtories are told concerning the methods made uſe of by the earl of Stair, to procure ſuch important ſecret intelligence, moſt of them calculated to amuſe the reader, by agreeable fictions, at the expence of hiſtorical truth.

The real fact, as it ſtands authenticated on record, is, that the earl of Stair was maſter of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, and that he knew how to apply a bribe properly. By the influence of both, he gained over an Engliſh Roman Catholic prieſt, named Strickland, who was one of the pretender's chaplains, and his chief confident. By means of this ſpy, lord Stair knew every project formed in the pretender's council; and from the ſame quarter, he obtained a liſt of the French officers, who had engaged to accompany him to Scotland; with an exact account of the quantity of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, to be furniſhed by the French miniſtry.

The crafty Louis XIV. little ſuſpected the depth of lord Stair's political intrigues, and, therefore, was thunder-ſtruck when he was informed, that his Britannic majeſty, in his ſpeech to his parliament, on the 20th of July, 1715, had poſitively mentioned, that France was carrying on a plan, to invade his dominions, in favour of the pretender to his crown. He was at a loſs how to behave; but, being informed of the many expreſſes diſpatched by the earl of Stair, he ſent for him, and told him pretty roundly, that he was well appriſed of the contents of the frequent diſpatches he ſent to his court; and, at the ſame time, he diſguiſed the matter ſo far as to ſay, "This can be from no other motive, but to inform your king of my bad ſtate of health, which is far from being what you may wiſh; for, if you come to my palace to-morrow, you ſhall ſee me eat a fowl as heartily as ever I did in my life-time."

Next day, his lordſhip came to court, and ſaw the old king at dinner for the laſt time he ever appeared in public. The ſickly monarch was very languid, and bore

bore in his viſage the evident marks of an approaching diſſolution; and, for ſome time, ſeemed to loath all the delicacies of the table, till, caſting his eyes upon the earl of Stair, he affected to appear in a much better ſtate of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened from ſome deep reverie, he immediately put himſelf into an erect poſture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and ate much more heartily than was by any means adviſeable; repeating two or three times to the duke of Bourbon, then in waiting, "Methinks I eat very well for a man that is to die ſo ſoon."

But this inroad upon that regularity of living, which he had for ſome time obſerved, agreed ſo ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in leſs than a fortnight after.

This event happened on the firſt of September, when he left ſuch advice to his great-grandſon, Louis XV. the late king, that, had it been followed, would have promoted his own happineſs, as well as that of the nations around him; which was, not to imitate him in three things; viz. The paſſion he had entertained for the enlargement and aggrandizing of his dominions; his attachment to pleaſure; and his exceſſive and uſeleſs expences, to the deſolation of his ſubjects.

The death of Louis XIV. whom the French hiſtorians compare to Auguſtus Cæſar, would have proved fatal to the pretender's ſcheme, if it had not been ſecretly encouraged at home: but an inquiry being commenced againſt the former miniſtry, upon whom treaſons and miſdemeanors were charged, their friends thought proper to divert the trial, by carving out work from another quarter. Among thoſe who ſided with the late miniſtry, was John, earl of Mar, a nobleman bred up in all the principles of the Revolution, to which he had hitherto firmly adhered. He was ſecretary of ſtate at the time of the Union, was one of the commiſſioners for concluding it; and had conti-

nued in parliament, as a repreſentative, till this very time; nay, ſo ſtrenuouſly did he promote, and afterwards ſupport it, that, when ſpeaking of any thing, which he inſiſted could not be altered, his uſual phraſe was, "You may as well diſſolve the Union." This man was, however, very cunning and politic; and ſo much did he delight in acting the part of a ſtateſman, that it was his ruling paſſion. He had been intimate with the earl of Oxford (who was then in priſon), and was ſuppoſed to have been privy to all his ſecrets, which, if once found out, muſt prove fatal to himſelf; therefore, to deliver his friend from his captivity, he deviſed the plan of raiſing a rebellion; and it was ſuſpected, that the earl of Oxford liberally furniſhed him with money, for ſtirring up the confuſion. Theſe two great politicians eaſily foreſaw, that the inſurrection could not produce any revolution favourable to the pretender; all they wanted by it was, to ſcreen themſelves from a parliamentary inquiry.

The earl of Mar was at no loſs to find out engines, whom he could very eaſily move by the ſprings of his political views; and, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected, becauſe, in this, he was acting contrary to all his former principles, nay, and to his ſolemn proteſtations of loyalty to king George, he brought over ſome young unexperienced noblemen, ſuch as the earls Mariſhal and Strathmore, the marquis of Tullibardin and Huntley; and meeting them privately at Braemar, he talked of the ſcheme; and, by his inſinuations, ſoon made an impreſſion upon their minds, which were ready to receive the firſt that was offered.

Having got theſe noblemen to keep him in countenance, he was aſſured of being joined by the following conſiderable clans: the M'Donalds of Slate, of Clanranald, Glengary, Keppoch, and Glenco; by the Camerons, the M'Leans, M'Grigors, M'Kinnons, M'Pherſons, M'Intoſhes, and many others; and though he looked with as much diſdain on theſe tumultuous people

people, as any man in Britain, yet he made uſe of them to anſwer his own, and his patron's deſigns. Theſe people immediately aroſe, to dethrone a king, whom they had addreſſed but a few months before, with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of loyalty, and had aſſured of their attachment to his intereſt; and, gathering ſtrength as they advanced, they ſoon muſtered up an army of ten thouſand men, Scots and Engliſh included, to ſupport the cauſe of the pretender; whoſe ſtandard was ſet up at Braemar, on the 6th of September, 1715; and he was proclaimed by the title of James VIII. king of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

When the news of this rebellion arrived at court, the government immediately diſpatched the duke of Argyle, then lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Scotland, to ſuppreſs the rebellion. He quickly recruited the regiments, which had been diminiſhed by the king for the eaſe of his people; and had gotten together an army of three thouſand, three hundred and fifty regular forces, beſides the Glaſgow and other militia, by the 13th of November, when he attacked the rebels on Sheriff-muir, to prevent their croſſing the Forth.

The ſlaughter on both ſides in this battle was very great; the left wing of each army was defeated; and neither ſide could properly claim the victory; nor could either keep the field; the duke of Argyle being obliged to retire to Stirling, and the earl of Mar to Perth.

However, this check, joined to the ſevere loſs which another body of the rebels had ſuſtained at Preſton, but three days before, where 1500 were taken priſoners, by the generals Carpenter and Willis, put a ſtop to the rapid progreſs of this rebellion.

Among the regiments, which diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of their country, at the battle of Sheriff-muir, was the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons.

And while his troops were thus active in Scotland, the

the earl himſelf was not leſs ſo in his political capacity at Paris; for, when theſe hoſtile attempts were carrying on in Britain by the pretender's party, his lordſhip ſhewed a proper and determined ſpirit, by preſenting the following memorial to the regent:

"The underwritten earl of Stair, miniſter of Great Britain to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, finds himſelf obliged to repreſent to his royal highneſs, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, that, notwithſtanding his royal highneſs has frequently aſſured the ſaid earl, that he would faithfully and punctually obſerve the articles of peace, made between Great Britain and France at the treaty of Utrecht; that he would not permit either arms, ammunition, officers, or ſoldiers, to be tranſported out of France for the ſervice of the pretender: and, although, in conformity to theſe intentions, his royal highneſs had even ſent expreſs orders to all the ports and havens of the kingdom, it is certain, nevertheleſs, that the ſeveral particulars before enumerated are every day tranſported from the harbours of France, without the leaſt obſtruction whatſoever, from thoſe who command in the ſaid ports on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

"The late duke of Ormond and the pretender have been frequently on board certain veſſels at St. Malo, which were known to be loaden with ammunition and arms for the pretender's ſervice; and this with ſo little reſerve or circumſpection, that they were publicly attended and followed by a troop of Nugent's horſe, commanded by their proper officers, all mounted in their regimental clothes and accoutrements; and this without the leaſt check from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's officers commanding at St. Malo.

"The pretender, not thinking it proper to venture himſelf to ſea at this juncture, took the road towards Normandy, in order to embark at Dunkirk; and the late duke of Ormond, in the ſame manner, declining to land in England, came back to Morlaix.

"When

" When the pretender was gone to Scotland, attended by the above-mentioned troopers of Nugent's regiment, his royal highneſs was pleaſed to promiſe the underwritten miniſter, that he would treat them as deſerters, if ever they returned to France; and the mareſchal d'Huxelles, at the ſame time, aſſured the ſaid earl, that he would hang them all without diſtinction.

" Theſe ſoldiers are now returned, and have joined their regiment. Monſieur Beſach and his company remain, to this very hour, at Morlaix; as alſo the arms and ammunition that he had with him for his intended expedition; which being removed out of one ſhip into another, in the harbour of Morlaix, the commanding officer there was ſo far from confiſcating the ſaid arms and ammunition, that he even refuſed to ſearch the veſſel, though he was deſired to do ſo by captain Campbell, commander of an Engliſh ſhip, which yet remains in that port.

" Within five weeks paſt, ſeveral veſſels have ſailed from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, with arms and ammunition, officers and money, for the pretender's ſervice; all which are actually arrived in Scotland: and, to be more particular, there ſailed a veſſel from Havre de Grace, on the 17th of this month, in the face of an officer belonging to the king of Great Britain; who, having repreſented to the marquis of Rouvray, that there lay at that time, both in Havre de Grace and at Harfleur, at leaſt twenty officers, ready to follow the pretender into Scotland, on board the ſaid veſſel, and begged him to prevent their embarking, the marquis replied, that, what he had ſaid might be very true, but that he could not prevent their going on board, having no orders from court for that purpoſe.

" The ſaid earl of Stair has alſo frequently repreſented, both to his royal highneſs the regent, and the mareſchal d'Huxelles, that ſeveral generals, colonels,

and

and other officers, then actually engaged in the ſervice of France, were determined to go and join the rebels in Scotland. The ſaid earl went ſo far, as even to give the marſchal d'Huxelles, a liſt of the ſaid generals and other officers, who, agreeably to the ſaid earl's repreſentation, are now actually at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places in that neighbourhood, ready to tranſport themſelves with the firſt opportunity into Scotland; from whence they have been hitherto detained, by nothing but the exceſſive cold of the ſeaſon and contrary winds; the commanding officers in the ſaid place openly avowing, that they have received no orders to prevent their embarkation.

"The earl of Stair finds it his duty, to repreſent theſe facts to the duke regent, to the end that his royal highneſs may himſelf determine, whether his orders have been executed with punctuality; and whether it may be thought in Great Britain, that the treaty of Utrecht has been faithfully complied with on the part of France.

"The aforeſaid earl of Stair finds himſelf obliged to acquaint his royal highneſs, that the late duke of Ormond, and ſeveral others, who had conſpired equally againſt their king and country, did, within a few days, begin their journey towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and that they have got together, upon the coaſt of Gaſcony, a conſiderable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ſhips, with which the court of St. Germains boaſts its intention to make a deſcent in Ireland; which, as the ſame court flatters itſelf, will be ſupported, not only with the money, but even with the troops, of France.

"The earl of Stair, who has always laboured with the utmoſt zeal, to eſtabliſh a good and perfect friendſhip, between the king his maſter and his royal highneſs the duke regent, cannot help being much concerned, to find himſelf reduced to make remonſtrances upon points of ſo tickliſh a nature, ſo capable of deſtroying the harmony that at preſent ſubſiſts between the two nations,

and

and of producing ſuch diſcontents, as may be attended with the moſt grievous conſequences, if not immmediately prevented by neceſſary orders."

It was not poſſible to elude the force of this repreſentation; and, accordingly, his royal highneſs ſaw, that, to remove all ſuſpicions, and preſerve the friendſhip of Great Britain, to which he was ſtrongly inclined, he muſt be obliged to ſpeak deciſively; agreeably to which, his anſwer was, "That he would forbid the exportation of any arms or ammunition out of the kingdom; and, that he ſhould ſend ſuch orders to all the ports in France, as his Britannic majeſty deſired; together with proper inſtructions for the captains of ſuch veſſels, as were bound for any part of Scotland."

The ſucceſs of this negociation contributed greatly to the total ſuppreſſion of the rebellion; for, when the inſurgents found themſelves deprived of the powerful ſuccours they had been promiſed from France, they began to diſperſe; and the pretender himſelf, receiving advice at Perth of the adverſe diſpoſition of the regent, gave up his cauſe for loſt; and fled from Perth, accompanied by his general, the earl of Mar, to Montroſe, where they embarked for France.

No ſooner did the news of this happy event reach the earl of Stair, than he repaired to the regent, and completely put an end to the pretender's hopes, by preſenting the ſubſequent memorial:

"The earl of Stair, miniſter of the King of Great Britain to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, has received expreſs orders from the king his maſter, to acquaint his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans, regent of France, with the flight of the pretender,, and the diſperſion of the rebels in Scotland. His majeſty is perſuaded this news will be very acceptable to the duke regent, as well on account of the proximity of their blood, as in regard to the ſtrict friendſhip, which his majeſty has ſo carefully cultivated with his highneſs.

"The

"The treaty of Utrecht is ſo recent, that the king was perſuaded, his royal highneſs would have taken the neceſſary meaſures, to have prevented the pretender's ſetting his foot in France; but ſince the ſaid pretender has found means to return thither, his majeſty aſſures himſelf, that, ſo ſoon as his royal highneſs ſhall be made acquainted with it, he will take the neceſſary meaſures to oblige him to quit the kingdom.

"The king of Great Britain commands the earl of Stair to inſiſt, in the ſtrongeſt manner, with his royal highneſs, that thoſe perſons, who ſtand condemned by the laws of England, who are declared rebels and traitors to their king and country, may not be permitted to remain in France; and that the chief abettors and authors of the late rebellion may be immediately obliged to leave the kingdom; and that his royal highneſs will declare his reſolution, not to permit the ſaid rebels ever to return into France; or that other perſons, who may hereafter be condemned and declared rebels, ſhall at any time be received, or find protection, in that kingdom.

"His royal highneſs is too reaſonable and too wiſe, not to ſee the juſtice and propriety of this demand.—Great Britain can never repoſe herſelf in ſafety and peace, whilſt ſhe ſees thoſe perſons received and entertained in her neighbourhood, who have endeavoured, with open force, to bring on the ruin and total ſubverſion of their country. Nor can France be perfectly aſſured, that ſhe ſhall not once again ſee herſelf expoſed, to bear all the blame and reſentment due to undertakings of ſo miſchievous a nature.

"The king and people of Great Britain think themſelves ſecure on the ſide of France, by virtue of the ſolemn treaty of Utrecht, by which the Pretender is excluded from the dominions of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and by which France ſtands obliged to give him no aſſiſtance, either in ſhips, arms, or ammunition; in money, ſoldiers, or officers; no, nor either counſel

or

or advice, either directly or indirectly. Yet the above mentioned rebels arrive; they ask refuge and protection in France! and are no sooner there, than, by the commodiousness of their situation, and conveniency of the post, they plot and contrive the blackest and most detestable treason against their country; which, depending on the faith of the treaty of Utrecht, was unarmed and defenceless. In defiance of this treaty, they find means to bring the pretender into France, and, by their intrigues, they furnish him with ships, arms, and ammunition; officers, soldiers, and money; with which assistance the pretender has actually invaded Great Britain, and brought infinite damages to the nation.

"His royal highness may imagine, that Great Britain could not long endure the uneasiness that must be derived from the neighbourhood of those rebels, ready to bring fire and sword into the heart of the kingdom, and to renew all the horrors that accompany rebellion.

"In this situation Great Britain would find herself obliged to be perpetually upon her guard, and would be subject to continual disturbances and apprehensions; a condition more vexatious than even open war, to a nation equally anxious for the preservation of its laws and liberties, and desirous to live in peace with its neighbours.

"His royal highness may learn, from the unanimous address of both houses of parliament to the king, what sense the nation entertains of this uncertain and violent situation. The king has the happiness of his subjects too much at heart, not to enter warmly both into their opinions and interest; and he flatters himself, that upon this occasion his royal highness will not refuse him the just proof he has desired of his friendship, and of his disposition to entertain a good understanding between the two nations.

"For the same reasons, the king of Great Britain hopes his royal highness the regent will concur with his majesty to solicit the duke of Lorraine, in the most

effectual manner, that the pretender may not be permitted to return into his own dominions.

"The earl of Stair has also received orders, to remind his royal highness of the declaration he has already made, that such officers in the service of France, as followed the pretender into Scotland, shall be cashiered. And the king is persuaded, that his royal highness will not permit such general officers, colonels, and others, who may have followed and assisted the pretender in the late rebellion, ever to be employed afresh in the service of his Most Christian Majesty: and if any of the said officers should hereafter return, or be already returned into France, that his royal highness will cause them to be punished, so that their conduct may appear to have been as highly displeasing to his royal highness and the government, as it is contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

"To prevent all mistakes in a business of so important and delicate a nature, the earl of Stair has orders to demand an answer in writing to this memorial, which he passionately wishes to be such as may contribute to re-establish a good intelligence between the two nations."

These memorials justly merited a place in the life of this great man, not only from the happy consequences they produced, in preventing a war between the two crowns; but as they are the most perfect models of able negociation that can be presented to unexperienced ministers. And it must be observed, that the success of a difficult negociation very often depends more on the style of a memorial, than on the most positive instructions from home, though the memorial must be drawn from them.

So resolute a declaration reduced the regent to the necessity of declaring himself once for all. There was no medium; he must either satisfy Great Britain, by refusing the pretender a retreat in France, or absolutely break

break with a prince whoſe friendſhip might be of ſervice to him, for the ſake of a gueſt who was both uſeleſs to him and his friends, and troubleſome to thoſe who protected him. In a word, fortune having already abjured the pretender, it was no hard matter for the regent to do ſo too; and, agreeably to this, by the advice of the abbot du Bois, he gave the earl of Stair a moſt explicit and ſatisfactory anſwer, after having acquainted the pretender with his reſolution, who immediately retired to Avignon.

The expulſion of this prince from the dominions of France, and the publication of an edict, about the ſame time, prohibiting the French ſubjects to trade in the South Sea, were two points of ſuch importance to Great Britain, that they juſtly laid the foundation of that friendſhip and confidence which at this time ſprung up between the two nations. To balance the excluſion of the French from the South Seas, the regent publiſhed a declaration, permitting them to trade to Africa.

A good underſtanding was now eſtabliſhed between the courts of Verſailles and London, highly agreeable to the latter, as it gave the new ſovereign an opportunity of inſpecting and regulating the domeſtic adminiſtration of government. And as for the earl of Stair, his conduct upon the occaſion gained him the eſteem of the duke of Orleans, now declared regent during the whole minority of Louis XV. His lordſhip was likewiſe the ſubject of admiration among the French courtiers; but neither adulations nor civilities could put him off his guard, or relax his attention to the dignity and intereſt of his royal maſter; a proof of which is exhibited in the following remarkable anecdote:

One day the regent, attended with the moſt ſplendid retinue, went in his coach to pay him a viſit; which his excellency being informed of, he prepared for his reception. The coach halted at the gate; and, when

the earl of Stair deſcended from his apartment, the regent roſe up, partly alighted from his coach, ſet one foot on the ground, and kept the other fixed on the ſtep. His excellency, in the mean time, was advancing to the gate; but, obſerving the poſture the regent was in, he ſtopped ſhort; then turned about, and walked three or four times backward and forward, and at laſt aſked one of the attendants, "Whether his royal highneſs was come to viſit him as his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador, or as earl of Stair? To which receiving no anſwer, he added,

"If he comes to ſee lord Stair, I ſhall reckon it my greateſt honour to receive any one officer of the crown, much more the duke regent, at the door of his coach; but if he comes to viſit the ambaſſador of my auguſt and royal maſter, I think I ſhould be unworthy the truſt repoſed in me, if I went further than I have done."

This being told to the regent, he re-entered his coach, and afterwards cauſed it to be notified to his excellency, that he was not deſirous of ſeing him at court; and, for ſome months, he actually withdrew; till, hearing of the regent's fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Toulon, which the court of Britain could not look on with indifference, he went to court; but in ſuch a manner as argued a conſummate policy, as well as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country.

He ſet out for Fontainbleau in a private chaiſe; and, being met by the chancellor d'Huxelles, who was very pompouſly attended, he paid his compliments to his excellency in the moſt elegant manner, and invited him to take a ſeat in his coach; but his lordſhip thanked him for his civility, and told him, that he wanted not coaches, but was at preſent diverting himſelf as earl of Stair. He then parted from him, and came to court; but the guards knowing him, declared they had orders to refuſe him admittance. "Oh! ſays he, "though

" though the Britiſh ambaſſador be debarred acceſs, " yet the lord Stair is not."

On this he was allowed to enter; and having paſſed the firſt guard, he haſtened through the others, and then immediately entered the preſence chamber, where the king and the regent were, ſurrounded by a vaſt number of nobility, gentry, foreign ambaſſadors, and general officers.

No ſooner did the regent obſerve the earl of Stair, than he withdrew to an inner chamber, whither he was followed by his lordſhip, the company ſtanding aſide to let him paſs; and, as he entered the room, he told him, that if at preſent he denied him audience, perhaps in time he might be glad to have one in his turn. On this the regent and he converſed two hours; during which time he informed him of his intrigues with the czar, with the king of Sweden, and with cardinal Alberoni, prime miniſter of Spain, for bringing in the pretender. His royal highneſs obſerving, that nothing, though ever ſo ſecretly tranſacted, could be kept from ſo prying an ambaſſador, and that one half of the French nation were, through poverty, become ſpies upon the other, he made a merit of diſcovering the whole plan of the Spaniſh miniſter to lord Stair.

It was deeply laid, and is too curious and intereſting to be omitted: we ſhall therefore endeavour to give a conciſe account of it, that the reader may be made acquainted with the political hiſtory of the firſt years of the reign of George I. in which the earl of Stair was the principal agent.

Though Philip V. grandſon of the late king of France, was, by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed to reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spaniſh monarchy, yet neither he nor his miniſters being content with the treaty obtained, they endeavoured to better themſelves by intrigues, and to procure by craft what by force of arms was impracticable. Cardinal Alberoni,

the then Spaniſh miniſter, knew very well, that though the emperor, by the late treaty, was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily and Flanders, and ſecured in his other vaſt dominions, he was yet ſo far drained of his treaſure by the laſt war, as to have no great inclination to a rupture: he judged the ſame of the other powers engaged; and thinking that Great Britain had obtained too advantageous terms at the laſt general pacification, his aim was to give her a king, who would be apt to relinquiſh every advantage, in gratitude for the favour done him.

But as Spain was unable alone to accompliſh ſo great a project, the cardinal thought of proper tools from another quarter; and theſe were Charles XII. of Sweden, with the czar of Muſcovy, whom he inceſſantly laboured to reconcile. The former was eaſily brought into the ſcheme, from a proſpect of regaining Bremen and Verden; the inveſtment of which had been given to George I. by the emperor; and, by means of the czar, an equivalent for the provinces he was obliged to cede to his Imperial majeſty; and the czar Peter I. was again allured with the bait of having his daughter married to the imaginary monarch, and of having a beneficial trade with Britain, to the ports of his new conquered provinces. However, it is not to be preſumed, that either the Swediſh or the Ruſſian court would have entered ſo readily into the cardinal's ſcheme, if ſome Engliſh and Scots gentlemen had not repaired, after the rebellion, to their dominions; more inflamed, after the defeats at Sheriffmuir and Preſton, than ever, with an inclination for war, and attributing their diſaſters in thoſe battles entirely to fatality. The repreſentations of theſe rebels, and the gold of Peru remitted from Madrid, were very powerful arguments with the two enterpriſing monarchs, whoſe miniſters now met upon the overture of peace, and for bringing about the cardinal's project.

Baron

Baron Goertz, the Swediſh miniſter to the ſtates general, who was one of the ableſt ſtateſmen in Europe, had twice an interview with the czar at the Hague; and having informed him, that he had got conſiderable ſums from the diſaffected in England, for buying ſhips and ammunition for invading Scotland, the Ruſſian monarch was ſo well pleaſed, that he went in perſon to Paris, in the month of May 1717; and, under pretext of viſiting the academy, the arſenals, the chambers of rarities, and every thing that might excite the attention of the curious, he conferred with the regent upon the intended ſcheme. His royal highneſs, however, ſecretly deſirous of having a king fixed in Britain by French influence, ſeemed not quite ſatisfied with it, either from an unwillingneſs to expend more treaſure in favour of a fugitive, or becauſe he thought that the Spaniſh gold, with the Ruſſian and Swediſh arms, were ſufficient to bring about the deſign, without expoſing France to a rupture with England by his engaging in it.

The conference with the czar, though very ſecret, was, by the regent's ſecretary, communicated to the Britiſh ambaſſador, who directly acquainted his court; and ſuch active meaſures were inſtantly taken, as rendered the ſcheme impracticable; at the ſame time, a letter from count Gyllenbourgh, the Swediſh envoy at London, to his brother Guſtavus, then ambaſſador in France, having fallen into the earl of Stair's hands, he tranſmitted it to the Britiſh miniſtry, by whom count Gyllenbourgh was arreſted, and moſt of his papers ſeized, in which were many letters from and to baron Goertz. From theſe it appeared plainly, that an invaſion was deſigned; and indeed it might have taken place, had it not been for the ſeaſonable intelligence given by the earl of Stair.

But theſe were not the only attempts, in favour of the unhappy fugitive, that were defeated through his means. He likewiſe had a principal ſhare in bringing about

about the quadruple alliance, offenſive and defenſive, between his Britannic majeſty, the emperor, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the States General of the United Provinces; by which the deſigns of the court of Madrid were totally defeated.

However, the cardinal now openly received and entertained the pretender at the court of Madrid; and, in hopes of making a powerful diverſion in Hungary, he attacked the emperor, and fomented diſturbances in the Britiſh dominions. Having likewiſe formed a deſign of ſeizing the iſland of Sicily, he fitted out a fleet for that purpoſe; and, in July 1718, this Spaniſh armament took ſeveral conſiderable places in the iſland; but while they were buſily employed in attacking the citadel of Meſſina, the Britiſh fleet came to the aſſiſtance of the Sicilians, and, on the 11th of Auguſt, attacked twenty-ſeven Spaniſh ſhips of the line, off Cape Paſſaro; after an obſtinate engagement, the Engliſh took and ſunk moſt of them: and ſoon after the king of Sicily acceded to the quadruple alliance. This ſtunning blow ſo much chagrined the court of Spain, that an order was iſſued out for ſeizing upon all the Britiſh merchant ſhips, and effects in that kingdom. His majeſty George I. granted letters of marque and repriſals to the Britiſh ſubjects againſt thoſe of Spain, on the 3d of October; and on the 17th war was declared againſt Spain.

The Spaniſh court was, at this time, the moſt intriguing in Europe; for ſhe not only endeavoured to diſturb the tranquillity of Britain, but likewiſe of France; for which purpoſe, the prince of Cellemare, her ambaſſador at Paris, had entered into a conſpiracy with ſome mutineers, to whom he gave penſions. The deſign was, to take away the regent's life; to make an inroad into four provinces of the kingdom; to gain over the French miniſtry to the Spaniſh intereſt; and thus pave a way for uniting the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, of the French dominions, with thoſe of the

the younger branch of the houſe of Bourbon reigning in Spain: which ſcheme might have taken place, and have rekindled the general war, if it had not been diſcovered in the following extraordinary manner:

Two noblemen, who were intruſted with a packet from the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in France, to cardinal Alberoni, containing a relation of the progreſs which he had made with ſome noblemen, for accompliſhing the ſcheme of his court, took a chaiſe, which broke down about two leagues from Paris. The poſtilion, obſerving them to take more care of their portmanteau than of themſelves, (one of them ſaying he would rather loſe one hundred thouſand piſtoles than it), after driving them to the end of the firſt ſtage, he haſtened to Paris, and gave immediate notice of what he had ſeen to the government. The council of regency being inſtantly called, proper officers were immediately ſent off, with orders to ſtop them; which they effected at Poictiers, and not only arreſted their perſons, but ſent their portmanteau to Paris, in which were found the plaineſt marks of a conſpiracy. The ſame night (the 23th of November) ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were ſeized, and ſent to the Baſtile; and the Spaniſh ambaſſador was commanded to leave the kingdom.

The abbé du Bois, ſecretary of ſtate, wrote a circular letter the next day to the ſeveral miniſters reſiding at the French court, and particularly to the earl of Stair, acquainting him with the motives which induced them to take this ſtep, with regard to the prince de Cellamere, by whoſe letters it was plainly ſeen, that he was inciting the king's ſubjects to a revolution, and that he had formed a plan to deſtroy the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then concluded, in terms which both diſcovered his reſpect to the Britiſh court, and a perſonal eſteem for her ambaſſador.

Soon after this, a declaration of war was made by France againſt Spain; and although it was looked upon

upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of ſix new men of war upon the ſtocks at Port-paſſage, and the taking of ſome towns, put the matter, of France's being in earneſt, beyond all poſſibility of doubt.

But no diſappointments could check the reſtleſs ſpirit of the cardinal, who ſtill fomented the tumultuous paſſions of the Britiſh rebels: many of the moſt conſiderable had retired, partly by his invitation, and partly without any, into the dominions of his maſter. And the duke of Ormond, their chief, having received notice to leave France, upon an application made to the regent for that purpoſe, Alberoni preſſed him to repair to Madrid; this invitation however was kept a perfect ſecret; but there were ſome people about the duke of Ormond, who, being elate with the proſpect of the expedition, thought proper to communicate the deſign to their correſpondents at Paris; and theſe having ſhewn their letters to one M'Donald, a lieutenant-colonel in the Iriſh brigades, he handed them about, till at laſt they came to the ears of the Britiſh ambaſſador, who ſent captain Gardiner expreſs, with an account, that the preparations of the Spaniards at Cadiz were certainly deſigned againſt England; and that their fleets would put to ſea the 7th or 8th of March 1718.

This piece of intelligence was communicated by the king to his parliament; who aſſured him of their utmoſt efforts to defeat ſo extraordinary an attempt; and every military preparation was made by land and at ſea to oppoſe the invaſion; which might have proved very formidable, if the enemies of their country had not met with a check from another quarter.

The duke of Ormond, with 5000 land forces on board, having proviſion, ammunition, and every other neceſſary, had embarked for the Weſt of England; but, meeting with a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre, they were ſeparated. His grace, with moſt of the Engliſh

and Iriſh officers, were obliged to put back to Cadiz; while the earls of Marſhal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, purſued their voyage, and landed at Kintail, in the north of Scotland, on the 15th of April, with about 400 Spaniſh troops. They were very uneaſy to know the fate of the duke of Ormond, and deferred moving from thence till they ſhould hear what was become of his Grace; but, before any certain accounts arrived of his diſappointment, general Wightman was in full march to diſperſe them, having with him two Swiſs and three Dutch battalions, one hundred and twenty dragoons, and about three hundred and fifty foot ſoldiers. He came up with them on the pretender's birth-day, at the paſs of Glenſhiel, where the M'Kenzies were ſtationed on one ſide, the marquis of Tullibardin, with the laird of M'Doual, upon the other; and the Spaniards intrenched in their front, making in all one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty men. No ſooner did they enter the paſs, than to their aſtoniſhment, the rebels, who lay concealed among the heath, alarmed them with their ſhot, and killed the colonel of a Dutch regiment upon the ſpot, which diſheartened the ſoldiers much, till a major led them on with ſuch intrepidity, amidſt the fire of the enemy, that he even played upon the flagelet before them. General Wightman, obſerving the matter, ordered ſome hand-grenadoes to be thrown in among them, which fired the heath, then very long, about their ears; and one of the ſplinters wounding Seaforth in the wriſt, his clan carried him off, and at the ſame time retired in the greateſt confuſion. As the general was unacquainted with the country, he ordered captain Monro of Culcairn, who was there with about eighty men of his brother's vaſſals, to purſue them; which he did with a ſurpriſing alacrity; and knowing the ſteeps, they mounted them, under cover of ſome coehorns that were brought to bear upon the enemy, whom they purſued from one rock to another till

till that brave officer was wounded. The rebels placed in the right of the pass having given way, those on the left made off full speed, deserting the Spaniards, who now became an easy conquest; for they were all made prisoners of war, without bloodshed.

This was the last effort in favour of the old pretender during the reign of George I. against whom so many plots and conspiracies were formed, but were as often baffled.

The refined policy of the earl of Stair was now become next to a proverb; and the splendor and hospitality in which he lived at Paris endeared him to the lower ranks of people, to whom he was benevolent and charitable.

They likewise constantly kept in mind his most magnificent entry into Paris, to congratulate their young monarch upon his accession to the throne, which far exceeded any thing of the kind, and had caused the circulation of a great sum of money among the tradesmen. It was, therefore, with great regret that they received the news of his recal.

In short, his abilities had such an ascendant over the regent, before he left France, that, being once publicly asked what part his royal highness would take in the troubles of the north, he answered what the British ambassador pleases.

But he had so many occasions to maintain the dignity of his character, and he was so well inclined to do this, by all external acts of splendor and magnificence as well as by his political talents, that he greatly hurt his private fortune, and incumbered his estate, which with the debts he had contracted by gaming, made him solicit his recal. Upon his return, the king declared himself so well pleased with his conduct, that he would have created him a duke, if he had not been prevented by law. The deep sense which the king shewed of his fidelity was the greatest and most illustrious eulogium of his virtues: the people echoed back

back the praiſes of their ſovereign, while the whole of his dominions reſounded with applauſe at his conduct; ſeveral prints of him were publiſhed, and every one took a pride to have his reſemblance by them.

During the remainder of the reign of George I. he was one of the cabinet council; and, on his late majeſty's aſcending the throne, he was received into the ſame confidence.

In April 1730, he was made lord admiral of Scotland, which, with his other poſts, he held till April 1733, when he fell into diſgrace at court, upon the following occaſion:

In the winter of the year 1732, a plan was brought into parliament, for changing the duties upon tobacco and wine, and bringing them under the laws of exciſe, in order to prevent frauds in the revenue, of which thoſe who had the management of the treaſury loudly complained. This affair was diſliked by the trading part of the nation, who made ſo great an oppoſition to it, that, in January 1733, the tobaconiſts of London, at a general meeting, agreed to act in concert with the committee, appointed by the citizens, merchants, and traders of London; and, by all juſt and lawful means, to oppoſe any new exciſe, or extenſion of the exciſe laws, under any pretence whatſoever: ſeveral corporations earneſtly recommended the ſame thing to their repreſentatives; and in February the city of London laid their grievances before their four repreſentatives. Notwithſtanding which, the ſcheme was propoſed, and the motion, with regard to tobacco, was made on the 14th of March, in a grand committee; and, after a warm debate, the queſtion was carried, by 266, againſt 205; and, on the 16th of March in the houſe, by 249, againſt 189; and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; which being done upon the 4th of April, and read for the firſt time, the ſheriffs, with ſeveral of the aldermen, common-council men, eminent merchants, and traders of the city, went in

their coaches to Weſtminſter hall, petitioning to be heard by their counſel againſt the bill, which was appointed to be read a ſecond time on the 10th of April; but their petition was rejected, by 214 againſt 197. Other petitions were alſo brought in, when Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the ſecond reading of the bill might be put off for two months, (a uſual mode of laying them aſide); this being agreed to, the ſcheme dropped; on which great rejoicings were made.

Among the number of thoſe who oppoſed it in the houſe of peers, was the earl of Stair; not indeed from any diſlike he had to the then prime miniſter, but from a proſpect of the diſmal conſequences that might ariſe from a people, for whoſe laws and liberties more martyrs have ſuffered than for thoſe of any other nation; and it being demanded by the late queen, why he did ſo, his anſwer was, "that he wiſhed her royal family better than to agree to ſuch a project." A little time after, he reſigned all his places into his majeſty's hands; as did the lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, the earl of Cheſterfield, the earl of Burlington, and many others.

In the next ſeſſion, which was the laſt of that parliament, he voted with all the candour and integrity that became ſo great a man, not regarding the ſmiles or frowns of a court; and when a motion was made in the houſe of lords, to petition his majeſty to inform them of the perſons that had adviſed him to remove ſo many eminent and truly brave men, he behaved with a moderation that became the greatneſs of his ſoul.

In June 1734, he appeared at the general elections in his native country; and as the party who had ſided with Sir Robert Walpole in promoting the exciſe ſcheme had been at great pains to carry the elections of Scotland, he was the firſt to enter a proteſt againſt the method of their procedure, viz. that the military, who, by act of parliament, ought to be removed ſome miles

miles from the place of election, were, nevertheleſs, under arms at no farther diſtance than half a mile: the dukes of Hamilton, Queenſberry, Montroſe, and Roxburgh, the marquis of Tweedale, and ſeveral other lords, who mentioned the very peers who were afterwards choſen as thoſe contained in the liſt named by the miniſter, and ſent down by his agent, proteſted likewiſe. And the matter might have been carried to a greater length, had not the late duke of Argyle, during the heat of their debate, told the meeting, that he ſaw many ſtrange faces in the room, and that he thought it ought to be cleared; on which ſeveral ladies, who had come in, withdrew, and were followed by the lords in the oppoſite intereſt: ſo that the court party, as it was called, intirely prevailed; and the petition given into parliament, complaining of an undue election, was afterwards refuſed.

About this time, his lordſhip took to a rural life, and ſtudied agriculture on his eſtate, which he underſtood to ſuch a degree, that he might be called the Virgil of the age; he employed about 200 workmen every day; and was as much admired for his huſbandry at home, as he had been for his politeneſs at the court of Verſailles.

During his retirement from court, he was viſited by the nobility from all quarters; he correſponded with ſeveral generals abroad, and with ſome of thoſe noblemen in England who had reſigned at the ſame time with himſelf. He was facetious in converſation, and entertained his company with ſuch diſcourſes as ſerved to inſtruct, as well as to amuſe. When ſpeaking of the king of Poland, he attracted the admiration of all who heard him; and he has frequently declared, that he preferred hunting the ſtag at Warſaw to the gallantries and amuſements of the court of Verſailles. His generoſity was ſuitable to the greatneſs of his ſoul, for never man beſtowed his favours with a better grace. One day a phyſician came from Edinburgh to viſit him,

and his lordſhip, judging that if he offered him money, it might be refuſed, contrived a way to make him a preſent: he went to his parlour, and wrote a line, which he gave the doctor to deliver, at the ſame time apologiſing, in the moſt polite and amiable manner, for the liberty he took; the gentleman told him, that his lordſhip's commands were an honour to him, and with pleaſure they ſhould be obeyed. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he inſtantly repaired to the perſon, for whom the letter was directed, and delivered it to him; when, to his ſurpriſe, he was ſhewn the contents of it, which were as follow:

"Sir,

"Pay the bearer thirty guineas, which is but a "ſmall compliment for his care of me; and place the "ſame to account of, Sir,

"Your very humble ſervant,

"STAIR."

It would be almoſt impoſſible to repreſent the whole of his amiable and generous actions. He was always a friend to the diſtreſſed; and, when ſtripped of all his employments, ſupported the dignity of a nobleman who had once been an ornament to the Britiſh nation. But while he was encouraging huſbandry, and doing good to mankind, in a private ſituation, a change in the miniſtry was in agitation, which took place in 1741; and his preſence was required at court upon the following occaſion:

The Britiſh merchants had long complained that letters of marque had been iſſued out from the Spaniſh admiralty, againſt the Britiſh ſhips, under pretence of ſearching for contraband goods and paſſports; numerous repreſentations were made upon this head at Madrid; ſeveral conferences were held upon the ſubject; and at laſt a convention was ſigned on the 4th of January 1739, in which Spain agreed to pay 95,000l. to compenſate the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects.

jects. This affair might have been amicably terminated, had not the coals of diſſenſion been blown up from another quarter. Spain muſtered up a claim of 68,000l. upon the African company, concerned in the negroes; and refuſed to pay the 95,000l. till the 68,000l. were deduced; nay, ſo high did they riſe in their demands, that Geraldino, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, declared, his maſter would as ſoon part with his eyes as with his right of viſiting ſhips in the American ſeas. But perhaps things had not ſo ſoon been carried to an extremity, if Geraldino had not informed his court of the diviſion in parliament; and that, by ſome well-timed bribes, it was eaſy to get a majority, which might obtain ſuch terms as they pleaſed. This, with the Biſhop of Rennes's declaration at Madrid, that the people of England were ripe for a revolution, inflamed the Spaniards the more; which made them ſeize the Britiſh ſhips wherever they could find them. In conſequence of theſe freſh inſults, on the 23d of October 1739, war was declared againſt Spain.

Admiral Vernon, who had been ſent to the Weſt Indies to protect our trade, took Porto-Bello on the 22d of November, and received thirty thouſand piaſtres, as a ranſom for not pillaging the town. On the 1ſt of April 1740, he ſailed to Carthagena, whoſe outworks he took, and then ſailed victorious up to the harbour of the town, and debarked the land forces, under cover of the cannon from the ſhips; but a violent rain falling, which is mortal to our ſoldiers in thoſe parts, and the ladders being too ſhort, through an error in the mathematician who computed the height of the wall of Fort St. Lazara, they were obliged to retire, after trying what bravery itſelf would do. Hence Spain roſe in her demands; and, being ſecretly aſſiſted by the French, ſhe was the more active in proſecuting her mighty projects.

About a year after the beginning of the war with Spain, an event happened, which, for eight years together

gether, occaſioned the moſt melancholy ſcenes: the emperor Charles VI. died the 9th of October 1740; on which day, his eldeſt daughter, late empreſs dowager, and mother to the preſent emperor, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchefs of Auſtria. Her miniſters at the ſeveral courts of Europe notified her acceſſion, and ſupported the legality of what was done, from her claim in conſequence of the will of Ferdinand I. and of the deed of Charles VI. dated the 20th of June 1722; wherein, with the unanimous voice of a general diet of the ſtates of Hungary, then met at Preſburg, an act was paſſed for ſettling the ſucceſſion of that crown on the female line of the houſe of Auſtria, and their deſcendents, in failure of male iſſue, according to the right of primogeniture. The queen's title was acknowledged by ſeveral princes; but the elector of Bavaria refuſed, and claimed the crown for himſelf, founding his pretenſions to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, upon the ſame will of Ferdinand I. and deſcent from Charles V. as alſo that he was married to the emperor Joſeph's daughter. The troops of his electorate marched, in September 1741, in ſupport of his claim, and were followed by 30,000 French forces, under pretence of ſecuring the free election of an emperor, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, of which their king was the guarantee.

On the other hand, his Britannic majeſty ſupported the Pragmatic ſanction, and oppoſed the election of an emperor by the influence of the court of Verſailles; and though her Hungarian majeſty was attacked by the king of Pruſſia, who marched his troops, on the 14th of December, into Sileſia, and at the ſame time deprived of aſſiſtance from the Ruſſians, between whom and the Swedes a war had been juſt kindled; yet, under all theſe diſadvantages, was ſhe aſſiſted by the Britiſh nation.

During the winter of the year 1741, the armies were active abroad; Lintz, and a few other places, were

were taken by the Auſtrians, who gained ſome advantages in the field, and extended into Bavaria itſelf. At home, the parliament was taken up with examining into the merits of elections; many of which being carried againſt Sir Robert Walpole, he reſigned his places into his majeſty's hands; on which a total change enſued in the miniſtry. A reſolution was taken for ſupporting the queen of Hungary, and reſtoring the balance of power, which muſt have been entirely deſtroyed, if the treaty for dividing the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria had ſucceeded, according to the propoſal of France. In conſequence of this reſolution, three hundred thouſand pounds were voted to her Hungarian majeſty; and a conſiderable body of Britiſh troops were ſent to Flanders, the command of which, as alſo of the Hanoverians and Heſſians, was given to the earl of Stair; who now began, like the ſun, after ſetting for a long night, to riſe with the brighter luſtre. In March 1742, he was made field-marſhal of his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the ſtates general.

This ſudden promotion, and reſtoration to favour, gave ſatisfaction to every true Briton: and the king received him with a tenderneſs and affection which convinced all preſent, that his majeſty was inclined to remember the maxim of the wiſeſt of kings, *viz.* "Not to forget his father's friends."

His lordſhip inſtantly applied himſelf to the management of the important buſineſs committed to him; and knowing that he had to deal with the ambaſſadors of Spain, France, and the new emperor, he aſſiduouſly ſtudied their memorials, and prepared replies to them before he ſet out for Holland, where, on the 10th of April, five days after his arrival, being conducted to a public audience of their High Mightineſſes, he made them a very ſpirited harrangue, which had the deſired effect of engaging them in the queen's cauſe.

This memorial was followed by another, of the 18th of

of Auguſt, in which the preſſing inſtances of the queen of Hungary, for aſſiſtance from his Britannic majeſty, againſt a powerful French army, were laid down, and the pitiful artifices of the French detected. To mention every tranſaction of this conſummate ſtateſman would ſwell this article too much; ſuffice it then to ſay, that the earl of Stair at length brought about a general pacification, ſeemingly to the ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned; but not till after the famous battle of Dettingen, where he, for the laſt time, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in concert with king George II. as a general of undaunted bravery and intrepidity, to whom the glory of that day is chiefly aſcribed. Soon after this action, he petitioned to reſign; which being granted, he again returned to the pleaſures of a country life; but ever ready to ſerve his king and country, upon the breaking out of the late rebellion, he repaired to court, and offered his ſervice to ſuppreſs it, which was gladly accepted; and he accompanied the duke of Cumberland to Edinburgh, driving the pretender and his rabble army before them. After the ſuppreſſion of this inſurrection, he continued at court till the winter of the year 1746, when he repaired to Scotland, finding himſelf in a languiſhing condition, and unfit for buſineſs. By the help of his phyſicians, he was preſerved till about ten at night of the 7th of May 1747, when he breathed out a life which had been ſpent in eminent ſervices to his country."

Thus died field-marſhal John earl of Stair, who was a nobleman of the rareſt abilities; equally fitted for the camp or the court; and how hard is it to ſay in which he excelled? "A man of the ſtricteſt honour and veracity; great, without pride; handſome, without vanity; juſt, without rigour; wiſe, without arrogance; bountiful, without oſtentation; ſupporting the higheſt dignity with a decency, humanity, and moderation, only to be found among the great; being poſſeſſed of every talent that could make a man great in himſelf,

ſelf, ſerviceable to his king, or an ornament to his country."

"The earl of Stair, as to his perſon, was a man about ſix feet high, exceedingly ſtraight and genteel in his body, which inclined to an agreeable ſlenderneſs. He was, perhaps, one of the handſomeſt men of his time, and remarkable, among the nobility, for his graceful mein and majeſtic appearance. His complexion was fair, but rather comely than delicate; his forehead was large and graceful, his noſe was ſtrait and exquiſitely proportioned to his face, his eyes were exactly ſuited to his features, being of a blue colour, and full of ſweetneſs. His amiable countenance, on which there was imprinted a natural ſmile, could not fail to inſpire the ſpectators with a warmth of affection not to be accounted for. Theſe endowments of body were but indications of the beauties of the nobler part, and which he poſſeſſed in the higheſt perfection. So that he might be conſidered as the favourite child of Nature, as well as the brighteſt ornament of his native country."

*** *Authorities.* Henderſon's Life of the Earl of Stair. Smollet's Hiſt. of England. Annals of George I. and II.

THE LIFE OF

HENRY SAINT-JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

[A. D. 1672, to 1751.]

THE celebrated LORD BOLINGBROKE, whoſe political writings and conduct as a ſtateſman have not been leſs the ſubject of cenſure, than his philoſophical works,

works, was a deſcendent of the lord-chief-juſtice St. John. He was born at Batterſea, in Surrey, in the year 1672; and his mother dying young, he paſſed his infant years under the care of his grandmother, a ſtrict Preſbyterian, whoſe ſpiritual guide was the famous diſſenting miniſter Daniel Burgeſs.

At a proper age he was ſent to Eton ſchool, and from thence removed to Chriſt Church College in Oxford.

His native genius, and excellent underſtanding, were obſerved and admired by his contemporaries in both theſe places; but the love of pleaſure had ſo much the aſcendency as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends deſigned him for public buſineſs; and when he left the univerſity, he was conſidered as one who had the faireſt opportunity of making a ſhining figure in active life.

United with the graces of a handſome perſon, he had a manner and addreſs that were irreſiſtibly engaging; a quick apprehenſion, great ſtrength of memory, a peculiar ſubtilty in reaſoning, and a maſterly elocution; but, for ſome years, all theſe extraordinary endowments were employed in nothing ſo much as finiſhing the character of a complete rake. He was in particular much addicted to women, and apt to indulge himſelf to late hours in all thoſe exceſſes that uſually attend them.

In the year 1700, he was married to the daughter and and co-heireſs of Sir Henry Wincheſcomb, of Buckleburry in Berkſhire, Bart. This alliance was in all reſpects ſuitable to his birth and expectations; and the ſame year he made his firſt appearance in the houſe of commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton Baſſet in Wiltſhire, by family intereſt, his father having ſerved ſeveral times for the ſame place: ſo that Mr. St. John, who was now about twenty-ſix years of age, took his ſeat in the ſenate with every poſſible advantage.

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He preſently choſe his party, and joined himſelf to Robert Harley, Eſq. who in this parliament was choſen ſpeaker for the firſt time; and he made himſelf conſpicuous before the end of the ſeſſion.

Perſevering ſteadily in the ſame connection, he gained ſuch an authority and influence in the houſe, that it was thought proper to reward his merit; and, in April 10. 1704, he was appointed ſecretary at war, and of the marines. As this poſt created a conſtant correſpondence with the duke of Marlborough, he became perfectly acquainted with the worth of that great general, and zealouſly promoted his intereſt.

It is remarkable, that the greateſt events of the war, ſuch as the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, and the ſeveral glorious attempts made by the duke to ſhorten the war by ſome deciſive action, fell out while Mr. St. John was ſecretary at war.

When Mr. Harley was removed from the ſeals, in 1707, Mr. St. John choſe to follow his fortune, and the next day reſigned his employments in the adminiſtration: he alſo followed his friend's example, and behaved, during the whole ſeſſion of parliament, with great temper, ſteadineſs, and decency. He was not returned in the parliament which was elected in 1708; but upon the diſſolution of it in 1710, Mr. Harley being made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, the important office of ſecretary of ſtate was given to Mr. St. John; and, about the ſame time, he wrote the famous letter to the Examiner.

Upon the calling of a new parliament, on the 25th of November in that year, he was choſen knight of the ſhire for the county of Berks, and alſo burgeſs for Wotton Baſſet, and made his election for the former.

This large acceſſion of power placed him in a ſphere of action that called forth all his abilities: the Engliſh annals produce not a more trying juncture; and Mr. St. John appeared equal to every occaſion of trial.

He ſuſtained almoſt the whole weight of the difficulties

culties in negociating the peace of Utrecht; and, in July 1712, he was created baron St. John of Lediard Tregoze in Wiltſhire, and viſcount Bolingbroke. He was alſo, the ſame year, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Eſſex.

But theſe honours by no means gratifying his ambition, he formed a deſign of taking the lead in public affairs from his old friend Mr. Harley, then earl of Oxford; which proved in the iſſue unfortunate to them both.

It muſt be obſerved, that Paul St. John, earl of Bolingbroke, a diſtant relation, died on the 5th of October preceding his creation. That by his deceaſe, though the barony of Bletſho devolved upon Sir Andrew St. John, Bart. yet the earldom became extinct, and the honour was promiſed to our author; but his preſence in the houſe of commons being ſo neceſſary at that time, the lord-treaſurer prevailed on him to remain there during that ſeſſion, upon a promiſe that his rank ſhould be preſerved to him: but when he expected the old title ſhould have been revived in his favour, which, conſidering his ſervices, particularly in that ſeſſion, ſeemed reaſonable enough, he was put off with this of viſcount; which he reſented as an affront, and looked on it as ſo intended by the treaſurer, who had got an earldom for himſelf, being created earl of Oxford.

Lord Bolingbroke's own account of this tranſaction is too entertaining to be omitted, eſpecially as it juſtifies, in ſome meaſure, his manœuvres to ſupplant his political patron.

"I continued (ſays he) in the houſe of commons during that important ſeſſion which preceded the peace, and which, by the ſpirit ſhewn through the whole courſe of it, and the reſolutions taken in it, rendered the concluſion of the treaties practicable. After this, I was dragged into the houſe of lords in ſuch a manner,

ner, as to make my promotion a puniſhment, not a reward, being there left to defend the treaties alone.

"It would not have been hard, continues he, to have forced the earl of Oxford to uſe me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of; the truth is, no opinion of his ſincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worſe perhaps for a man in his ſtation, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was ſo hard puſhed in the houſe of lords, in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced, in the middle of the ſeſſion, to perſuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious meaſure, to be excuſed by nothing but the neceſſity, and hardly by that. In the houſe of commons, his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that aſſembly; they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who ſhews them game, and by whoſe halloo they are uſed to be encouraged. The thread of the negociations, which could not ſtand ſtill a moment without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himſelf maſter of the buſineſs, much time would have been loſt, and great inconveniences would have followed. Some, who oppoſed the court ſoon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I ſhould have wanted no help to do miſchief. I knew the way of quitting my employments, and of retiring from court when the ſervice of my party required it; but I could not bring myſelf up to that reſolution, when the conſequence of it muſt have been the breaking my party, and the diſtreſs of the public affairs. I thought my miſtreſs treated me ill; but the ſenſe of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other conſiderations, and prevailed over my reſentment. Theſe ſentiments, indeed, are ſo much out of faſhion, that a man who avows them is in danger of paſſing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I ſpeak of, the true motives of my conduct; and

you ſaw me go on as cheerfully in the troubleſome and dangerous work aſſigned me, as if I had been under the utmoſt ſatisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart to renounce the friendſhip, which till that time I had preſerved inviolable, for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the baſe and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen, and every where elſe. I ſaw, however, that he had no friendſhip for any body; and that with reſpect to me, inſtead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an additional ſtrength to himſelf, it became the object of his jealouſy, and a reaſon for undermining me."

His lordſhip's conduct during the four laſt years of the reign of queen Anne, brought in queſtion both his religious and political principles: for, though educated among the diſſenters, and, as it has ſince appeared, being attached to no ſyſtem of religion whatever, he became a zealous high-churchman; and was ſecretly in the intereſt of the pretender, though he openly profeſſed an inclination to ſerve the houſe of Hanover. Hence it is evident, that he complied with the temper of the queen at that time, with a view of being made prime miniſter.

In 1714, ſoon after the acceſſion of George the Firſt to the throne, the ſeals, as might well be expected, were taken from him, and all the papers in his office ſecured. However, during the ſhort ſeſſion of parliament at this juncture, he applied himſelf, with his uſual induſtry and vigour, to keep up the ſpirit of the friends to the late adminiſtration, without omitting any proper occaſion of teſtifying his reſpect and duty to his majeſty; in which ſpirit he aſſiſted in ſettling the civil liſt, and other neceſſary points. But ſoon after the meeting of the new parliament, finding that an impeachment of the late miniſtry was reſolved upon, he withdrew, and croſſed

croſſed the water privately to France, the latter end of March 1715.

Upon his arrival at Paris, he received an invitation from the pretender, then at Barr, to engage in his ſervice; which he abſolutely refuſed, and made the beſt application that his preſent circumſtances would admit, to prevent the proſecution againſt him in England being carried to extremities.

After a ſhort ſtay at Paris, he retired into Dauphine, where he continued till the beginning of July; when, upon receiving intimations from ſome of his party in England, of a projected revolution, he complied with a ſecond invitation from the pretender; and accepting from him the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate at Commercy, he ſet out with them for Paris; in which city he arrived the latter end of the ſame month, in order to procure from that court the neceſſary ſuccours for his new maſter's intended invaſion of England.

The vote for impeaching him of high-treaſon had paſſed the houſe of commons on the 10th of June preceding; and ſix articles were ſent up by them to the lords on the ſixth of Auguſt following: and proclamations being iſſued for him to ſurrender, which he did not obey, he was attainted of high-treaſon on the 10th of September the ſame year.

The articles of impeachment againſt his lordſhip were carried into the houſe of commons by Mr. Robert Walpole, and were in ſubſtance as follows:

Art. 1. That whereas he had aſſured the miniſters of the ſtates general, by order from her majeſty in 1711, that ſhe would make no peace but in concert with them; yet he ſent Mr. Prior to France that ſame year, with propoſals of a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the conſent of the allies.

Art. 2. That he adviſed and promoted the making of a ſeparate treaty or convention with France, which was ſigned in September.

Art. 3. That he diſcloſed to Mr. Meſnager, the

French miniſter at London, this convention, which was the preliminary inſtructions to her majeſty's plenipotentiaries at Utrecht in October.

Art. 4. That her majeſty's final inſtructions to her ſaid plenipotentiaries were diſcloſed by him to the abbot Gualtier, an emiſſary of France.

Art. 5. That he diſcloſed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them.

Art. 6. That he adviſed and promoted the yielding up of Spain and the Weſt Indies to the duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her majeſty.

It muſt not be omitted, that Sir Joſeph Jekyl, a gentleman of the moſt unbiaſſed integrity, and great knowledge in the law, and a member of the ſecret committee, obſerved, that there was matter more than enough to prove the charge againſt lord Bolingbroke; at the ſame time that he declared his opinion, that they had nothing ſufficient to ſupport the charge againſt the earl of Oxford.

It is remarkable that lord Bolingbroke's new engagements with the pretender had the ſame unfortunate iſſue; for the year 1715 was ſcarcely expired, when the ſeals and papers of his new ſecretary's office were demanded and given up, which was ſoon followed by an accuſation branched into ſeven articles, wherein he was impeached of treachery, incapacity, and neglect.

Thus diſcarded abroad, he reſolved to make his peace, if poſſible, at home; and in a ſhort time, by that activity which was characteriſtic of his nature, and with which he conſtantly proſecuted all his deſigns, he procured, through the mediation of the earl of Stair, then the Britiſh ambaſſador at the French court, a promiſe of pardon, upon certain conditions, from his majeſty king George I. who, on the 2d July 1716, created his father baron of Batterſea in the county of Surrey, and viſcount St. John; but he himſelf was not reſtored

ſtored in blood, nor enabled to ſucceed to his father's peerage.

An extraordinary variety of diſtreſsful events had thrown him into a ſtate of reflection; and this produced, by way of relief, his "Conſolatio Philoſophica," which he wrote the ſame year, under the title of "Reflections upon Exile." He had alſo this year written ſeveral letters in anſwer to the charge brought againſt him by the pretender and his adherents; and the following year he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with reſpect to the Tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham. He alſo took another method of ſupporting his ſpirits; his firſt lady being dead, he eſpouſed, about this time, a lady of great merit, who was niece to the famous madam de Maintenon, and widow of the marquis de Villette, with whom he had a very large fortune, which was, however, encumbered by a long and troubleſome law-ſuit.

In the company and converſation of this lady he paſſed his time in France, ſometimes in the country and ſometimes at the capital, till 1723; in which year, after the breaking up of the parliament, his majeſty was pleaſed to grant him a full and free pardon. Upon the firſt notice of this favour, the expectation of which had been the governing principle of his political conduct for ſeveral years, he returned to his native country.

It is obſervable, that Dr. Atterbury, the famous biſhop of Rocheſter, who was baniſhed at this very juncture, happening, on his being ſet aſhore at Calais, to hear that lord Bolingbroke was there on his return to England, made this remark, "Then I am exchanged." And from the following circumſtances we may conclude the biſhop's conjecture was well founded.

Bolingbroke's leave to return home was granted immediately after the act for baniſhing Atterbury had received the royal aſſent; and this leave was obtained at the preſſing inſtance of lord Harcourt, who had ſhewed great warmth in proſecuting the biſhop. We are

told alſo that Sir Robert Walpole, who was obſerved not to be particularly engaged againſt the latter, oppoſed the return of Bolingbroke very warmly, in a ſpeech at the council-board, when the motion for it was made by Harcourt.

Two years afterwards, having obtained an act of parliament, to reſtore him to his family inheritance, and enable him likewiſe to poſſeſs any purchaſe he ſhould make of any other real or perſonal eſtates in the kingdom, he pitched upon a ſeat of lord Tankerville's, at Dawley, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, where he ſettled with his lady, and indulged the pleaſure of gratifying his elegant taſte, by improving it into a moſt charming villa, pictureſque of the preſent ſtate of his fortune; and here he amuſed himſelf with rural employments.

We have a ſketch of his lordſhip's way of life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr. Swift by Mr. Pope, who omits no opportunity of painting him in the moſt amiable colours. This letter is dated at Dawley, June 8. 1728, and begins thus:

"I now hold the pen for my lord Bolingbroke, who is reading your letter between two hay-cocks; but his attention is ſomewhat diverted by caſting his eyes on the clouds, not in admiration of what you ſay, but for fear of a ſhower. He is pleaſed with your placing him in the triumvirate between yourſelf and me; though he ſays, that he doubts he ſhall fare like Lepidus:—while one of us runs away with all the power, like Auguſtus; and another with all the pleaſure like Anthony. It is upon a foreſight of this, that he has fitted up his farm; and you will agree, that this ſcheme of retreat is not founded upon weak appearances. Upon his return from Bath, he finds all peccant humours are purged out of him; and his great temperance and economy are ſo ſignal, that the firſt is fit for my conſtitution, and the latter would enable you to lay up ſo much money as to buy a biſhoprick in England. As to the return of his health and vigour, were you here

you

you might enquire of his haymakers: but as to his temperance I can anſwer, that for one whole day we had nothing for dinner but mutton broth, beans and bacon, and a barn-door fowl.—Now his lordſhip is run after his cart, I have a moment left to myſelf to tell you, that I overheard him yeſterday agree with a painter, for 200 pounds, to paint his country hall with rakes, ſpades, prongs, &c. and other ornaments, merely to countenance his calling this place a farm."

Happy would it have been for his lordſhip, if he could have remained content in this delightful retreat, and have verified a paſſage in one of his letters to Swift. "Neither my enemies nor my friends will find it an eaſy matter to tranſplant me!" But the ſeeds of ambition were too deeply rooted in his conſtitution; he pined after a ſeat in the houſe of lords, and ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration of government: and being diſappointed in theſe views, about the year 1726, he became a warm anti-miniſterial writer, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a multitude of pieces, written during the ſhort remainder of that reign, and likewiſe for ſeveral years under the late, with great freedom and boldneſs, againſt the meaſures that were then purſued.

In the height of theſe political diſputes, he found ſome ſpare hours for the meditation of philoſophy, and drew up ſeveral eſſays upon metaphyſical ſubjects. Having carried on his part of the ſiege againſt the miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, with inimitable ſpirit for ten years, he laid down his pen, upon a diſagreement with his principal coadjutors; and, in 1735, retired again to France, in a full reſolution never more to engage in public buſineſs.

It has been obſerved, that, in the proſecution of the controverſy, our ſtateſman found himſelf obliged, from the beginning, to recommend the earl of Oxford's old ſcheme, a coalition of parties (then called the broad-bottom ſcheme), the Tories being at this time out of

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any condition to aim at places and power, except as auxiliaries.

His lordſhip's own words moſt clearly explain the circumſtances under which he wrote, and which obliged him to lay aſide his pen.

"The ſtrange ſituation I am in, and the melancholy ſituation of public affairs, take up much of my time, and divide or even diſſipate my thoughts; or, which is worſe, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philoſophical tone or temper, to the drudgery of private and public buſineſs. The laſt lies neareſt my heart. And ſince I am once more engaged in the ſervice of my country, diſarmed, gagg'd, and almoſt bound as I am, I will not abandon it, as long as the integrity and perſeverance of thoſe who are under none of theſe diſadvantages, and with whom I now co-operate, make it reaſonable for me to act the ſame part."

As ſoon as the line of oppoſition was cut, he declared that no ſhadow of duty obliged him to go further; his new friends having deſerted him, to go over to the miniſtry.

Plato, he obſerves, ceaſed to act for the commonwealth, when he ceaſed to perſuade: and Solon laid down his arms before the public magazines, when Piſiſtratus grew too ſtrong to be oppoſed any longer with hopes of ſucceſs.

His lordſhip followed theſe examples, but not without collecting his utmoſt force, to give a parting blow to the miniſter; which of all his maſterly pieces is generally eſteemed the beſt.

He had now paſſed the 60th year of his age, and had gone through as great a variety of ſcenes, both of pleaſure and buſineſs, in active life, as any of his contemporaries. He had puſhed matters as far towards reinſtating himſelf in the full poſſeſſion of his former honours, as the mere dint of talents and application could go; and was at length experimentally convinced, that

that the decree was abſolutely irreverſible, and the doors of the cabinet finally ſhut againſt him.

If, in the decline of his life, he became leſs conſpicuous, he became more amiable; and he was far from ſuffering the hours to ſlide away unuſefully.

He had not been long at his retreat, near Fontainbleau, when he began a courſe of Letters on the Study and Uſe of Hiſtory, for the uſe of a young nobleman, of diſtinguiſhed worth and capacity.

In the mean time, it was obvious, that a perſon of ſo active an ambition, as he was tempered with, muſt lie greatly open to ridicule, in aſſuming a reſigned philoſophical air of ſtudy and contemplation.

He ſaw it; and to obviate the cenſure, he addreſſed a letter to lord Bathurſt, upon the True Uſe of Retirement and Study; in which he defends himſelf in ſo maſterly a manner, that we cannot reſiſt the impulſe to give it a place, for the benefit of thoſe who may be fond of ſtudying elegant compoſition.

"To ſet about acquiring the habits of meditation and ſtudy late in life, is like getting into a go-cart with a grey beard, and learning to walk when we have loſt the uſe of our legs. In general, the foundation of an happy old age muſt be laid in youth; and, in particular, he who has not cultivated his reaſon young, will be utterly unable to improve it old. "Manent ingenia ſenibus, modo permaneant ſtudium & induſtria."

"Not only a love of ſtudy, and a deſire of knowledge, muſt have grown up with us, but ſuch an induſtrious application likewiſe, as requires the whole vigour of the mind to be exerted in the purſuit of truth, through long trains of ideas, and all thoſe dark receſſes, wherein man, not God, has hid it.

"This love, and this deſire, I have felt all my life; and I am not quite a ſtranger to this induſtry and applicaton. There has been ſomething always ready to whiſper in my ear, whilſt I ran the courſe of pleaſure

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and buſineſs, "Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum." But my genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whiſpered ſo very ſoftly, that very often I heard him not, in the hurry of thoſe paſſions by which I was tranſported: ſome calmer hours there were, in them I hearkened to him; reflection had often its turn; and the love of ſtudy, and the deſire of knowledge, have never quite abandoned me. I am not therefore entirely unprepared for the life I will lead; and it is not without reaſon that I promiſe myſelf more ſatisfaction in the latter part of it, than I ever knew in the former.

Upon the death of his father in 1742, his lordſhip returned to England, and ſettled at Batterſea, the ancient ſeat of his family; where he paſſed the remainder of his days in retirement; reſolving, ſince he could not obtain his ſeat again in the houſe of peers, never more to meddle in public affairs.

After the concluſion of the late inauſpicious war, in 1748, the meaſures taken in the adminiſtration ſeem not to have been repugnant to his notions of political prudence for that juncture; and what theſe were is ſeen, in part, in ſome reflections written by him in 1749, "On the Preſent State of the Nation, principally with regard to her Taxes and Debts, and on the Cauſes and Conſequences of them."

This undertaking was left unfiniſhed, nor did he ſurvive it long. He had often wiſhed to breathe his laſt at Batterſea; an event which happened on the 15th of November 1751, on the verge of fourſcore years of age.

His remains were interred, with thoſe of his anceſtors, in that church; where there is a marble monument erected to his memory with this inſcription:

Here lies
HENRY ST.-JOHN;
In the reign of Queen Anne,
Secretary of War, Secretary of State,
And Viſcount BOLINGBROKE.

In the days of King George I.
And King George II.
Something more and better.
His attachment to Queen Anne
Expoſed him to a long and ſevere perſecution.
He bore it with firmneſs of mind.
The enemy of no national party;
The friend of no faction;
Diſtinguiſhed under the cloud of a proſcription,
Which had not been entirely taken off,
By zeal to maintain the liberty,
And to reſtore the ancient proſperity,
Of Great Britain.

He ſurvived all his brothers; ſo that the eſtate and honours deſcended to his nephew, the preſent lord viſcount Bolingbroke and St. John, whom he conſtituted likewiſe the teſtamentary heir: and as his lady died many years before him, ſo the diſputes in law about her fortune happening to be finally determined about the time of his deceaſe, by that lucky event the nephew reaped the whole benefit of his uncle's kindneſs immediately,

His lordſhip left the care and advantage of his manuſcripts to Mr. Mallet, who publiſhed three tracts, in one volume 8vo. in 1753, and four volumes more the following year; in which the truſtee, it ſeems, conſulted his own profit, more than his noble benefactor's fame; as appears from a preſentment of the grand jury of Weſtminſter, made on the ſixteenth of October the ſame year 1754, of theſe poſthumous works in four volumes, "as tending, in the general ſcope of ſeveral pieces therein contained, as well as many particular expreſſions which had been laid before them, to the ſubverſion of Religion, Government, and Morality; and being alſo againſt his Majeſty's peace."

Indeed it is almoſt needleſs to tell the world now, that, in reſpect to his religion, he was undoubtedly a profeſſed

profeſſed Deiſt; but ignorance and malice carried the charge farther, and the theological diſſertations in his poſthumous works have been branded as atheiſtical, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or evidence. In a word, with all his paſſions, and with all his faults, he will, perhaps, ſays the writer of his life, "be acknowledged by poſterity in general, as I think he is by the majority of the preſent age, to have been, in many reſpects, one of the moſt extraordinary perſons who adorned it.

*** *Authorities.* Memoirs of the Life of Lord Bolingbroke, prefixed to his works. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, vol. xxiv. 8vo. edit. Annals of Geo. I. vol. i. and ii.

THE LIFE OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

JAMES WOLFE.

[A. D. 1726, to 1759.]

NO æra of the Britiſh hiſtory exhibits brighter examples of military glory, than that in which the immortal WOLFE ſtood forth to rival the greateſt characters of antiquity. In his time an animated love of their country, and an ardent zeal in its ſervice, prevailed amongſt the land and ſea officers, which communicated the influence of example to the private men, and, under Providence, produced ſuch a ſeries of rapid and ſignal ſucceſſes as can ſcarcely be paralleled in the annals of any nation.

The luſtre they reflected on the ſovereign, on the able miniſter who had the chief management of public affairs, and on the whole nation, is ſtill freſh in the memories of moſt of our countrymen.

May ſimilar circumſtances in future times call forth the

the exertions of equal wiſdom in the cabinet, and of as ſignal valour in the field, and on the ocean! but till this happens, let us be permitted, without meaning to give offence to the powers in being, to recommend to the riſing generation an attentive peruſal of the great events which diſtinguiſh the year 1759, in our hiſtory, and the three following years; when Great Britain, like the fabled phœnix, ſeemed to acquire new life and vigour from the aſhes of her beloved hero, and ſoared to the ſummit of human grandeur.

We ſhall now lay before our readers the few but glorious incidents of the ſhort life of a gallant young officer, who had a principal ſhare in forming the national glory of this æra.

James Wolfe was the ſon of lieutenant-general Edward Wolfe, an officer of diſtinguiſhed worth, who ſerved under the duke of Marlborough, and was very active under general Wightman in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of 1715, in Scotland. His renowned ſon was born at Weſterham in the county of Kent, as it appears by his baptiſmal regiſter, bearing date the 11th of January 1726. It is to be lamented that we have no memoirs of his juvenile years; for in the firſt dawnings of reaſon, men of ſuperior genius often diſcover unerring indications of uncommon abilities; perhaps in his very ſports and paſtimes, we might have traced that amazing fortitude, indefatigable aſſiduity, cool judgment and alacrity, for which he was afterwards ſo juſtly famed

He muſt have been educated for the army almoſt from his infancy, ſince honourable mention is made of his perſonal bravery at the battle of La-feldt, in Auſtrian Flanders, fought in the year 1747, when he was only in the twentieth year of his age. We are not told what rank he held at that time; but his royal highneſs, the late duke of Cumberland, the commander in chief, highly extolled his behaviour, and took every opportunity to reward him by promotion. The grada-

tions of his riſe are not aſcertained; we are only informed, that, during the whole war, he continued improving his military talents, that he was preſent at every engagement, and never paſſed undiſtinguiſhed. His promotion, therefore, muſt have been as rapid as his merit was great; for we find him holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Kingſley's regiment ſoon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. In this ſtation, during the peace, he continually cultivated the art of war, and introduced the moſt exact diſcipline and regular behaviour into his corps, without exerciſing any ſeverity; the love his ſoldiers bore him being manifeſted in their readineſs to obey his orders.

In the year 1754, a freſh rupture with France ſeemed inevitable, from the evaſive anſwers given by that court to the repeated remonſtrances made by the Britiſh ambaſſador againſt the depredations and encroachments made by their ſubjects at the back of the Britiſh ſettlements, along the banks of the river Ohio, in North America; they even went ſo far as to build forts within two hundred and twenty-five miles of Philadelphia. Hoſtilities commenced on both ſides, in conſequence of this violation of the treaty of peace; but war was not formally declared till 1756; and for a ſhort time nothing but diſappointments and loſſes attended the Britiſh arms; till Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, being firmly ſeated at the head of the adminiſtration, gave one of the moſt ſtriking proofs of his ſuperior abilities for conducting an extenſive war, by ſeeking for and employing, in the land and ſea ſervice, men of the moſt enterpriſing and active genius, who had ſignaliſed themſelves, upon important occaſions, in a manner beyond what could be expected, either from their years or experience. Of this number was colonel Wolfe, who was raiſed by the miniſter to the rank of brigadier-general, and ſent out under major-general Amherſt, upon the grand expedition againſt Louiſbourg, the capital of the iſland of Cape Breton. At the ſiege of this important

ant place, he greatly raiſed his military reputation; for he was the firſt general officer who landed the left diviſion of the army, amidſt the ſtrong and continued fire of the enemy from their batteries on the ſhore; and notwithſtanding an impetuous ſurf, which overſet ſome of the boats, he calmly gave orders to be rowed to the ſhore, where he exhibited uncommon valour and activity, by making good his deſcent, and maintaining his poſt, till he had covered the debarkation of the middle and the right diviſions of the land forces, commanded by brigadiers Whitmore and Lawrence. He then marched with a ſtrong detachment round the north-eaſt part of the harbour, and took poſſeſſion of the Light-houſe Point, where he erected ſeveral batteries againſt the ſhips and the iſland-fortification; by which dextrous manœuvre, the ſucceſs of the whole enterpriſe was in a great meaſure ſecured. The regular approaches to the town were now conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inſpection of general Amherſt; but ſtill the indefatigable Wolfe, with his detached party, raiſed ſeveral batteries, wherever he found a proper ſituation for annoying the enemy; and theſe did great execution, both within the town and among the ſhipping in the harbour. On the 27th day of July 1758, Louiſbourg ſurrendered; and captain Amherſt, brother to the general, was diſpatched in a veſſel to carry the joyful news to England: he alſo carried with him eleven pair of colours taken at the ſiege, which were carried in great triumph from the palace at Kenſington to St. Paul's.

The principal ſhare brigadier Wolfe was known to have had in this important conqueſt, induced Mr. Pitt to make choice of him to command a ſtill more capital expedition the enſuing campaign: with this view, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The plan of operations for the campaign of 1759, in North America, was then concerted in the cabinet; and it was reſolved, that Wolfe, as ſoon as the ſeaſon

of the year would admit, ſhould ſail up the river St. Lawrence, with a body of 8000 men, aided by a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips from England, to undertake the ſiege of Quebec; that general Amherſt, the commander in chief, ſhould, with another army of about 12,000 men, reduce Ticonderago and Crown Point, croſs the lake Champlain, proceed along the river Richlieu, to the banks of St. Lawrence, and join general Wolfe in the ſiege of Quebec. General Amherſt, however, though he ſucceeded in reducing Ticonderago and Crown Point, afterwards found himſelf under a neceſſity to ſupport that part of the plan which had been intruſted to brigadier Prideaux, who was to attack Niagara; in which attempt he was killed by the burſting of a cohorn, while he was viſiting the trenches. Upon receiving the news of this diſaſter, and that the French had been reinforced, general Amherſt ſent a large detachment from his army, under brigadier Gage, to join Sir William Johnſon, on whom the command devolved, and to ſuſtain the ſiege. Niagara ſurrendered after a victory gained over the French on the 24th of July 1759; and thus two parts in three of the plan of operations were happily executed; but the time neceſſarily employed in theſe ſervices made it impoſſible to comply with the general inſtructions to aſſiſt Wolfe in the ſiege of Quebec.

The fleets from England deſtined for that expedition, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, arrived at Louiſbourg in May, and took on board the 8000 land forces, whoſe operations at Quebec were to be conducted by general Wolfe, as commander in chief, and, under him, by the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray. Thus this arduous undertaking was entruſted, with reſpect to the land ſervice, to four young officers, in the flower of their age; a very ſingular inſtance, not a ſingle veteran having any principal command in the enterpriſe. The armament ſailed up the river St. Lawrence without

out any interruption, and about the latter end of June, the troops were landed, in two diviſions, upon the iſle of Orleans, a little below Quebec.

General Wolfe, upon landing, publiſhed a manifeſto, offering every protection and indulgence to the inhabitants, if they would remain neuter. He repreſented to them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the folly of reſiſtance, as the Engliſh fleet were maſters of the river St. Lawrence, ſo as to intercept all ſuccours from Europe; and he informed them, that the cruelties exerciſed by the French upon Britiſh ſubjects in America might juſtify the moſt ſevere repriſals: but Britons had too much generoſity to follow ſuch examples. In a word, he offered to the Canadians the full enjoyment of their religion, and of their effects, if they would behave peaceably; at the ſame time, he cautioned them againſt provoking him to adopt violent meaſures, by any inſults their part.

This humane declaration, which, to the honour of general Wolfe, was penned in the moſt perſuaſive and pathetic ſtyle, had no immediate effect; and it was not long before the influence of the prieſts ſtimulated them to join the ſcalping parties of the Indians, and to ſally from the woods upon ſome unguarded ſtragglers of the Britiſh army, whom they ſlaughtered with the moſt inhuman circumſtances of barbarity. Wolfe now wrote a polite remonſtrance to M. de Montcalm, the French general, deſiring him to exert his authority over the French and the Indians, to prevent ſuch enormities, as being contrary to the rules of war; otherwiſe he muſt retalliate, by burning their villages and laying waſte their plantations. In all probability, the French general's authority was not ſufficient to curb the ferocity of theſe ſavages; ſo that general Wolfe found it neceſſary, in order to put a ſtop to theſe outrages, to ſuffer our people to retalliate upon ſome of their priſoners, which had the deſired effect.

M. de Montcalm, though ſuperior in numbers to the

Engliſh, choſe to depend upon the natural ſtrength of the country, rather than run the riſk of a general engagement in the field. The city of Quebec was ſkilfully fortified, defended by a numerous garriſon, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the choiceſt citizens, and had completely diſciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, with the ſeveral tribes of ſavages. With this army he had taken poſt in a very advantageous ſituation along the ſhore, every acceſſible part of his camp being deeply intrenched. To undertake the ſiege of Quebec againſt ſuch advantages, and ſuperior numbers, was a deviation from the eſtabliſhed rules of war; but no proſpect of danger could reſtrain the ardour of Wolfe; and at this time he entertained ſtrong hopes of being joined by general Amherſt.

The neceſſary works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and of the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being completed in July, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and encamped on the banks of the river Montmorenci, which ſeparated them from the left diviſion of the enemy's camp. The general now wrote to Mr. Pitt, deſcribing his ſituation, and aſſigning moſt excellent reaſons for the choice of his ground; amongſt others, that there was a ford below the falls of Montmorenci, paſſable for ſome hours at the ebb of the tide; and he hoped, by means of this paſſage, to find an opportunity of engaging Montcalm upon more advantageous terms than directly to attack his intrenchments.

In this poſition the Britiſh army remained a conſiderable time, expecting news every day from general Amherſt, and conſtantly employed in ſome enterpriſe againſt the enemy, in order to facilitate the final attack on Quebec. Brigadier Monckton, with one detachment, diſlodged the French from Point Levi, on the

the ſouth ſhore oppoſite the city; and colonel Carleton, with another, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern point of the iſland of Orleans; both theſe poſts they fortified, and erected batteries, which played with ſuch ſucceſs, that they greatly damaged the upper, and almoſt demoliſhed the lower town. To balance theſe advantages, our troops met with frequent repulſes, and ſome loſſes, in reconnoitring the fordable parts of the river.

At length diſpoſitions were made for attacking the enemy's intrenchments, in order to bring on a general engagement; and, on the laſt day of July, it was reſolved to ſtorm a redoubt built cloſe to the water's edge, and within gun-ſhot of the intrenchments; but, inſtead of defending it, which muſt have produced the effect Wolfe expected, the French abandoned it; and thirteen companies of our grenadiers, animated by the confuſion they obſerved the French were thrown into, from the hot fire kept up by the Centurion, while the troops were landing from boats, on the enemy's ſide of the river, inconſiderately ruſhed on to the French intrenchments, without waiting for the diſembarkation of the reſt of the army. This ill-timed impetuoſity, and another accident of ſome boats getting aground off Point Levi, diſconcerted the whole plan; for the grenadiers were repulſed; the French had time to recover from their ſurpriſe at this bold attempt; and intelligence was now received, from ſome priſoners taken by brigadier Murray, in a ſucceſsful deſcent at Chambaud, that general Amherſt had taken Niagara and Crown Point, but was obliged to employ all his forces againſt M. de Burlemaque, who was poſted with a ſtrong corps at the *Iſle aux Noix*.

Thus deprived of all hopes of reinforcement from that quarter, general Wolfe returned without moleſtation to his old camp on the other ſide of the river; and here diſappointment and fatigue threw him into a fever and flux, which reduced him very low. And in this unhappy ſtate of mind and body, he diſpatched an expreſs to England,

England, with an account of his proceedings, but written in the ſtyle of a deſponding man; to which, perhaps, the ſucceſs of the generals in other parts of America contributed; as he might think the ſame good news would be expected from him by the public at home, who had been accuſtomed to hear of nothing but his conqueſts. Yet ſuch was the perſpicuity and accuracy of his juſtification of his meaſures, that the diſpatch was received with applauſe, though the expedition had not been ſucceſsful.

As ſoon as the general recovered a little ſtrength, he went on board the admiral; and theſe two commanders, with a proper armament, went up the river, paſſed the town unmoleſted, and reconnoitred it, in order to judge if an aſſault was practicable. Their opinion concurred with that of the chief engineer: they all agreed, that ſuch an attack could not be hazarded with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and the next meaſure taken was, to break up the camp at Montmorenci, as no poſſibility appeared of attacking the enemy above the town. A reſolution was now formed to change the plan of operations; and the three brigadiers adviſed the general to tranſport the troops in the night, and land them within a league of Cape Diamond, below the town, in hopes of aſcending the heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might gain poſſeſſion of the plain at the back of the city, on that ſide but weakly fortified.

The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this deſign were ſo very great, that none but ſuch an enterpriſing general, who was well aſſured of the affections of his troops, would have ventured to propoſe it to them. The veterans of ancient Rome often mutinied upon leſs hazardous undertakings; but Wolfe readily aſſented to the daring project of his brave aſſociates in the war, and animated his troops by leading them on in perſon, enfeebled as he was by his diſtemper. The neceſſary preparations being made, and the time

fixed

fixed for this moſt aſtoniſhing attempt, admiral Holmes, with a view of deceiving the enemy, moved with his ſquadron higher up the river than the old camp; and this had the deſired effect, for his motions were watched till night came on by a detachment of the French, who lined that part of the ſhore, under the command of M. de Bouganville. But in the night the admiral, purſuant to his inſtructions, fell down the river to cover the landing of the troops. About one in the morning of the 12th of September, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, fell gently down the river in flat-bottom boats, under the conduct of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray; but general Wolfe accompanied them, and was among the firſt who landed; no accident happened, except their over-ſhooting the intended place of landing, owing to the rapidity of the tide.

As theſe troops landed, the boats were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and diſlodged a captain's guard, who defended a ſmall intrenched narrow path, by which alone the other forces could reach the ſummit. They then mounted without further moleſtation; and general Wolfe drew them up in order of battle as they arrived.

The marquis de Montcalm was thunderſtruck at the intelligence, that the Engliſh had gained the Heights of Abraham; and knowing the weakneſs of the city on that ſide, he was at no loſs to determine that a general engagement was unavoidable. Advancing therefore with his whole force, in ſuch order of battle as ſhewed a deſign to flank the Engliſh forces on the left, brigadier Townſhend, with the regiment of Amherſt,

was

was ſent to prevent it, by forming his corps *en potence*, preſenting a double front to the enemy. The French were moſt advantageouſly poſted, with buſhes and corn-fields in their front, lined with 1500 of their beſt markſmen, who began the action with an irregular galling fire; and this they kept up till it proved fatal to many of our brave officers, ſingled out by them for deſtruction.

At about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and reſolution, but their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the Britiſh forces reſerved their ſhot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line: then they poured a terrible diſcharge, and continued the fire with the greateſt activity and ſucceſs. The gallant general Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louiſbourg grenadiers, the poſt of honour; for here the attack was moſt warm. As he ſtood dauntleſs and conſpicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the wriſt; but neither pain nor danger had any effect to make him retire from his ſtation. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his wriſt, he continued giving his orders without emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed; when another ball moſt probably from the ſame markſman, pierced the breaſt of this intrepid hero, who fell in the arms of victory, juſt as the enemy gave way, and at the very inſtant when every ſeparate regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own corps.

The wounded general was carried to a ſmall diſtance in the rear, where, rouſed from fainting fits, in the agonies of death, by the loud cry of *they run! they run!* he with great eagerneſs inquired, "who run?" and being told the French, and that they were defeated, he added, in a faultering voice, "then I thank God I die contented!" and almoſt inſtantly expired.

Much

Much about the ſame time brigadier-general Monckton, the ſecond in command, was dangerouſly wounded at the head of the regiment of Laſcelles; and then the command devolved on brigadier general Townſhend, who had the honour of completing the victory.

The particulars of this glorious battle are foreign to the plan of this work; and we ſhall therefore only ſay, that never was a battle fought which did more honour to the officers, and even to the private men, of both ſides, than this. The higheſt encomiums were beſtowed on, and juſtly merited by the marquis de Montcalm, the French general, who was mortally wounded, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his laſt moments by an affectionate regard for his countrymen, in writing a letter to general Townſhend, to recommend the French priſoners "to that generous humanity, by which the Britiſh nation has been always diſtinguiſhed:" he died in Quebec a few days after the battle. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and was conveyed from thence on board an Engliſh ſhip, where he expired the next day.

The death of Montcalm, which was an irreparable loſs to France, in America, threw the Canadians into the utmoſt conſternation; confuſion prevailed in the councils held at Quebec; and ſeeing themſelves inveſted by the Britiſh fleet, which, after the victory, ſailed up in a diſpoſition to attack the lower town, while the upper ſhould be aſſaulted by general Townſhend, they gave up all for loſt, and ſent out a flag of truce, with propoſals of capitulation, which were judiciouſly accepted by general Townſhend and admiral Saunders, and ſigned early the next morning; a meaſure which does the greateſt honour to their judgment, for the place was not yet completely inveſted, the enemy were on the point of receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from Montreal; and M. de Bouganville, at the head of 800 freſh men, with a convoy of proviſions, was almoſt at the gates of the town on the day of its ſurrender.

der. A new army was likewiſe aſſembling in the neighbourhood, with which the city continued to have a free communication on one ſide after the battle; and the Britiſh troops in a little time, the ſeaſon being far advanced, muſt have been obliged to deſiſt from their operations from the ſeverity of the weather, and even to have retired with their fleet before the approach of winter, when the river St. Lawrence is conſtantly frozen up.

It is difficult to deſcribe the various emotions with which the people were affected when the news of this aſtoniſhing ſucceſs in Canada arrived in England. The melancholy diſpatch which general Wolfe had ſent off, after his diſappointment at the falls of Montmorenci, owing to contrary winds, was not received, or at leaſt not made known to the public, till two days before the joyful news of the victory, and the ſurrender of Quebec, to which was tacked the mournful ſequel of the death of the conqueror of Canada.

A mixture of pity and affliction attended the national triumph upon this occaſion, and was ſtrongly expreſſed in the congratulatory addreſſes preſented by all the corporate bodies and public ſocieties of the three kingdoms to king George II.

A day of ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed throughout all the dominions of Great Britain; and, when the parliament aſſembled, Mr. Pitt, in the houſe of commons, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himſelf, when he was in the zenith of his glory, expatiated upon the ſucceſſes of the campaign, and dwelt on the tranſcendant merit of the deceaſed general in ſuch a pathetic ſtrain, as not only drew tears from himſelf, but from moſt who heard him: nor did he fail in paying due honour to the courage and conduct of the admirals, and the land officers, and to the bravery of the ſoldiers and the ſeamen who aſſiſted at the ſiege of Quebec.

He then made a motion, to preſent an addreſs, deſiring

ſiring his majeſty to order a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter-abbey, to the memory of major-general Wolfe, to which the houſe agreed unanimouſly. At the ſame time, they paſſed another reſolution, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the ſurviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and ſucceſsful expedition to Quebec.

Nothing now remained, but to give orders that all military honours ſhould be paid to the remains of our illuſtrious general, expected to arrive in England for interment. The corpſe was brought home in his majeſty's ſhip the Royal William to Portſmouth, and on Sunday, the 17th of November, it was landed in the following ſolemn order:

At eight o'clock in the morning, two ſignal guns were fired, to give notice to the garriſon of the removal: the body was then lowered out of the ſhip into a 12 oar barge, which was towed along by two 12 oar barges, and attended to the bottom of the point by 12 others, full manned with officers and ſeamen, who obſerved a melancholy ſilence during this awful proceſſion: minute-guns were fired from the ſhips at Spithead, from the time the body was taken from the ſhip to its being landed at the point, which took up an hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company of the train of artillery in the garriſon, marched from the parade to the bottom of the point, to receive the body. At a little after nine, it was landed, and put into a travelling hearſe, attended by a mourning coach, both ſent from London, and proceeded through the garriſon. The colours on the fort were ſtruck half-flag-ſtaff: the bells were muffled, and tolled in ſolemn concert with the dead march, which was beaten: minute-guns were fired on the platform from the entrance of the corpſe to the whole length of the proceſſion: the company of the train led the van, with their arms reverſed; and the regiment of invalids followed the hearſe, their arms

reverſed. They conducted the body to the land-port gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearſe proceeded, through the line they formed, on its way to London. Many thouſands of people were aſſembled upon this occaſion, who behaved with the greateſt decency and decorum. On the 20th at night, the body was privately depoſited in the family vault, in the church at Greenwich.

His private character was not leſs exalted than his public, and equally examplary to the Britiſh officers.

With an unuſual livelineſs, almoſt to impetuoſity of temper, he was not ſubject to paſſion: with the greateſt independency of ſpirit, he was free from pride. Generous, almoſt to profuſion; he contemned every little art for the acquiſition of wealth, whilſt he ſearched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deſerving ſoldier never went unrewarded, and the needy inferior officers often taſted of his bounty. Conſtant and diſcerning in his attachments; manly and unreſerved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners; he enjoyed a large ſhare of the friendſhip, and almoſt the univerſal goodwill of mankind; and, to crown all, ſincerity and candour, a true ſenſe of honour, juſtice, and public liberty, ſeemed the inherent principles of his nature, and were the uniform rules of his conduct.

His untimely fate called forth the exertions of emulative genius amongſt our artiſts: it has been the hiſtorical ſubject of the ſculptor, the painter, and the engraver, by which means the names of Wilton, Weſt, and Woollet, will be tranſmitted to poſterity, with the affecting ſtory of the immortal Wolfe.

THE

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE, LORD ANSON.

[A. D. ——, to 1762.]

GEORGE ANSON, whoſe ſignal merit as a naval officer raiſed him to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, was the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of William Anſon, Eſq. of Shuckborough (who died in 1720), by Elizabeth, ſiſter to the counteſs of Macclesfield, and aunt to the late earl.

We have no account of the exact time of his birth, nor yet of his infant years; we only know that he very early devoted himſelf to the ſea-ſervice, and was made captain of the Weazel ſloop in 1722; and the year following, of the Scarborough man of war. On the breaking out of the Spaniſh war in 1740, he was recommended to his late majeſty for the command of a ſquadron deſtined to annoy the enemy in the South Seas; and, by an unfrequented navigation, to attack them with vigour in their remoteſt ſettlements; a deſign which, had it not met with unaccountable delays, would have amply anſwered the intention, and might have given, perhaps, an irretrievable blow to the Spaniſh American power.

Mr. Anſon ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September 1740, in the Centurion, of ſixty guns, with the Glouceſter and Severn, of fifty each, the Pearl of forty, the Wager ſtore-ſhip, and the Tryal ſloop. His departure having been retarded ſome months beyond the proper ſeaſon, he did not arrive in the latitude of Cape Horn till about the middle of the vernal equinox, and in ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that it was with much difficulty that his own ſhip, with the Glouceſter and the ſloop, could double that dangerous cape; and his ſtrength was conſiderably diminiſhed, by the putting back of the Severn and Pearl, and the loſs of the Wager ſtore-ſhip. Yet notwithſtanding this diſappointment, and the

havock that the ſcurvy had made among the ſhips that were left, he arrived at the fertile, though uninhabited, iſland of Juan Fernandez.

Having at this iſland repaired his damages and refreſhed his men, with the above inconſiderable armament he kept, for eight months, the whole coaſt of Peru and Mexico in continual alarm, made ſeveral prizes, took and plundered the town of Peyta, and, by his humane behaviour to his priſoners, impreſſed on their minds a laſting idea of Britiſh generoſity.

At length, with the Centurion only, (the other two ſhips having been condemned), he traverſed the vaſt extent of the Pacific Ocean, a three months voyage; in the courſe of which, his numbers were ſo much farther reduced by ſickneſs, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he reached the iſland of Tinian, one of the Ladrones; a place which, from the following luxurious deſcription theſe voyagers have given of it, ſeems truly to be a terreſtrial paradiſe.

"This iſland lies in the latitude of 15. 8. North, and longitude from Acapulco 114. 50. W. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E.

"The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and ſomewhat ſandy, which being leſs diſpoſed than other ſoils to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation, occaſions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land riſes by an eaſy ſlope, from the very beach, where he watered, to the middle of the iſland; though the general courſe of its aſcent is often interrupted and traverſed by gentle deſcents and valleys; and the inequalities, that are formed by the different combinations of theſe gradual ſwellings of the ground, are moſt beautifully diverſified by large lawns, which are covered with a very fine tres-foil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are ſkirted by woods of tall and well-

ſpread

ſpread trees, moſt of them celebrated either for their aſpect or their fruit.

"The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods, in many places, clear of all buſhes and underwoods; and the woods themſelves uſually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confuſed with ſtraggling trees, but appearing as uniform as if laid out by art. Hence ariſe a great variety of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, formed by the mixture of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other, as they ſpread themſelves differently through the valleys, and over the ſlopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

"The fortunate animals too, which, for the greateſt part of the year, are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake, in ſome meaſure, of the romantic caſt of the iſland, and are no ſmall addition to its wonderful ſcenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black; and though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhod of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the beauty and cheerfulneſs of the place.

"The cattle on the iſland we computed were at leaſt ten thouſand; and we had no difficulty in getting near them, as they were not ſhy of us. Our firſt method of killing them was ſhooting them; but at laſt, when by accidents we were obliged to huſband our ammunition, our men ran them down with eaſe. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was believed by us to be much more eaſily digeſted than any we had ever met with.

"The fowls too were exceedingly good, and were

likewiſe run down with little trouble; for they could ſcarcely fly farther than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them ſo much, that they could not readily riſe again; ſo that, aided by the openneſs of woods, we could at all times furniſh ourſelves with whatever number we wanted.

"Beſides the cattle and poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs. Theſe were moſt excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to ſhoot them or hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to a detachment which was then upon the iſland, amaſſing proviſions for the garriſon of Guam.

"As theſe dogs had been purpoſely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with ſo much fury, that they frequently deſtroyed them; ſo that we by degrees loſt the greateſt part of them.

"But this place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its freſh proviſions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were moſt fortunately adapted to the cure of the ſea-ſcurvy, which had ſo terribly reduced us; for in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the ſame tree. There were, beſides, guavoes, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to theſe iſlands, called by the Indians, Rima, but by us the Bread-Fruit; for it was conſtantly eaten by us during our ſtay upon the iſland, inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it, that no ſhip's bread was expended during that whole interval.

"It grew upon a tree which was ſomewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and ſpreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkably deep green, are notched about the edges,

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and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itſelf grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each of them grows ſingly, and not in cluſters.

"This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed when it is full grown, but is ſtill green; in which ſtate its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblence to that of an artichoke-bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpongy. As it ripens it grows ſofter, and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luſcious taſte, and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike that of a ripe peach; but then it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes.

"Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under; ſuch as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel; all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerneſs, prompted thereto by the ſtrong inclination which nature never fails of exciting in ſcorbutic diſorders for theſe powerful ſpecifics.

"It will eaſily be conceived, from what already hath been ſaid, that our cheer upon this iſland was in ſome degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having ſurfeited thoſe who eat of them; but conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage, eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork, and fowls, already mentioned, and by great quantities of wild fowl; for I muſt obſerve, that near the centre of the iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention

mention the whiſtling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

"And now perhaps it may be wondered at, that an iſland ſo excellently furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and ſo well adapted not only to the ſubſiſtence but likewiſe to the enjoyment of mankind, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, eſpecially as it is in the neighbourhood of other iſlands, which, in ſome meaſure, depend upon this for ſupport.

To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that it is not fifty years ſince this iſland was depopulated. The Indians we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly the three iſlands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls: but ſickneſs raging amongſt theſe iſlands, which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminiſhed by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languiſhing for their former habitations, and their cuſtomary method of life, the greateſt part of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever ſhown for the places of their birth and bringing-up, it ſhould ſeem, from what has been already ſaid, that there were few countries more worthy to be regreted than this of Tinian.

"Theſe poor Indians might reaſonably have expected, at the great diſtance from Spain, where they were placed, to have eſcaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, ſo fatal to a large proportion of the human race: but it ſeems their remote ſituation could not protect them from ſharing in the common deſtruction of the weſtern world, all the advantage they received from their diſtance being only to periſh a century or two latter.

"Having mentioned the numerous conveniences of this place, I muſt now obſerve, that all theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate,

mate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent ſhowers which fall, and which, though of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreſhing, and are, perhaps, one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This was ſo remarkable, that thoſe among our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, made but one moderate repaſt a day, were here, in appearance, tranſformed into gluttons; for, inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, and each of them ſo prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a ſurfeit: and yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded with the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered nor even loaded by this repletion; for after having, according to the cuſtom of the iſland, made a large beef-breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſirable, though ſomewhat tardy incident."

At the ſouth-weſt end of this delightful iſland, (the only ſecure place for ſhips of burden to lie in), the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, oppoſite to a ſandy bay, and about a mile and a half diſtant from the ſhore.

But here the commodore and moſt of his people were in great danger of being loſt for ever, or of being impriſoned or maſſacred by the neighbouring Spaniards, the Centurion being driven from her anchors one night in a violent ſtorm, and, after nineteen days abſence, being brought back, with difficulty, by the few hands that were left on board.

It was the middle of the month of October 1742, before the commodore was in a condition to put to ſea again; and on the 12th of November, after a great variety of adventures, too numerous to be inſerted here, he

he arrived at Macao, which is a Portugueſe ſettlement, ſituated in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton, but entirely under the government of the Chineſe. Here Mr. Anſon ſhewed himſelf worthy of his command, by maintaining the honour of his ſovereign, and of the Britiſh flag, in boldly refuſing to pay the port-duties exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ſhips. He inſiſted that no king's ſhip ought to pay them; and his coolneſs and intrepidity confounded the Chineſe, ſo that the viceroy gave up the point; and then having completely refitted the ſhip (as was generally ſuppoſed for an European voyage), he ſteered back as far as the Philippine Iſlands, with a view of meeting the Acapulco ſhip; a plan as wiſely laid as it was happily executed.

On the laſt day of May 1743, the Centurion arrived off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the iſland of Samal, in the direct tract by which the Manilla ſhips return from Acapulco. On the 20th of June, one of the wiſhed-for ſhips was deſcried; ſhe was called the Noſtra Senhora de Cabadonga; ſhe mounted 40 guns; and the treaſure in ſilver ſpecie and ingots, with the other effects on board, amounted to 313,000l. Sterling. The Centurion, though ſhe mounted 60 guns, had but 227 men on board; and the Spaniard was full-manned. An engagement enſued, in which the bravery and ſkill of the Engliſh prevailed againſt ſuperiority of numbers: after having 67 men killed and 84 wounded, the commander of the galleon ſtruck his colours, and ſurrendered them himſelf into Commodore Anſon's hands, who loſt only two men, and had only one lieutenant and 16 private ſeamen wounded. He returned with his rich prize to Canton, where he put the treaſure on board the Centurion, ſold the Spaniſh hulk, and ſet ſail for England.

On his arrival at Spithead, in June 1744, after near four years abſence, he found, that the hand of Providence ſeemed ſtill to protect him, having ſailed, in a fog, through the midſt of a French fleet, then cruiſing

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in the Channel. In ſhort, through the whole of this remarkable voyage, he experienced the truth of that ſaying of Teucer, which he afterwards choſe for his motto, "Nil eſt deſperandum."

Soon after his return, he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, and one of the lords of the admiralty. In April 1745, he was made rear-admiral of the white; and in July 1746, vice-admiral of the blue. He was alſo choſen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkſhire. That winter he commanded the Channel ſquadron; and had not the duke d'Anville's fleet, returning with diſgrace from North America, been accidentally appriſed of his ſtation, his long and tempeſtuous cruiſe would then have been attended with his uſual ſucceſs. However, in the enſuing ſummer, he was once more crowned with wealth and conqueſt. Being then on board the Prince George, of 90 guns, in company with rear-admiral Warren, and twelve ſhips more, cruiſing off Cape Finiſterre, on the 3d of May 1747, they intercepted a powerful fleet, bound from France to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and, after a ſharp engagement, in which the French behaved with uncommon bravery, but were obliged to yield to ſuperiority of numbers, our admirals took the whole fleet, conſiſting of ſix men of war, and four Eaſt Indiamen. The ſpeech of the French admiral, M. de la Jonquiere, on preſenting his ſword to the conqueror, deſerves to be recorded:—"Monſieur, vous avez vaincu l'Invincible, et la Gloire vous ſuit," pointing to the two ſhips named.

For theſe repeated ſervices, the late king rewarded him with a peerage, on the 13th of June, by the title of Lord Anſon, Baron of Soberton in Hants. On the 15th of July, in the ſame year, he was appointed vice-admiral of the red; and on the death of Sir John Norris, he was made vice-admiral of England.

In April 1748, his lordſhip married the honourable Miſs Yorke, eldeſt daughter of the late earl of Hardwicke,

wicke, then lord high chancellor, who died in 1760, without iſſue.

In May 1748, he was appointed admiral of the blue; in which year he commanded the ſquadron that convoyed the late king to and from Holland; and from this time, as long as he lived, he conſtantly attended his majeſty on his going abroad, and on his return to England.

In June 1751, his lordſhip was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty; in which poſt he continued, with a very ſhort intermiſſion, till his death.

In 1752, he was appointed one of the lords juſtices, during the abſence of the king, and again in 1754. That year, on the rupture with France, ſo active and ſpirited were his meaſures, that a fleet, ſuperior to the enemy, was equipped and manned with amazing expedition.

In 1758, being then admiral of the white, having hoiſted his flag on board the Royal George, of 100 guns, he ſailed from Spithead on the 1ſt of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke commanding under him; and by cruiſing continually before Breſt, he covered the deſcents that were made that ſummer at St. Maloes, Cherbourg, &c. After this, he was appointed admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleets.

The laſt ſervice his lordſhip performed at ſea was the convoying to England our preſent queen; for which purpoſe he ſailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yacht, on the 7th of Auguſt 1761; and that day month, after a long and tempeſtuous voyage, landed the princeſs at the ſame place.

At length, having been ſome time in a languiſhing ſtate of health, he was adviſed to the Bath waters, from which he was thought to have received great benefit on former occaſions; there he remained during the winter of 1761, and part of the ſpring of 1762; but finding himſelf greatly exhauſted, and unable to bear the fatigue of company, he retired to his ſeat at Moor Park

Park in Hertfordſhire, where he died ſuddenly on the 6th of June, upon his return from walking in his garden.

His lordſhip was remarkably diſtinguiſhed for reſolution, perſeverance, and a calm even temper, moſt excellent qualifications for a commander in chief. But at home he leſſened his great reputation by a fooliſh attachment to gaming; and having ſeen little of the polite world, he eaſily became the dupe of ſharpers in high life, who eaſed him of a conſiderable ſhare of his wealth; and the ridicule which he incurred upon theſe occaſions, it is thought, affected his ſpirits, and contributed not a little to bring on that decline which ſhortened his days.

The account of Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World, is a work too well known to require more than barely to mention, that the firſt publication from journals, and other documents given by his lordſhip to the editor, whoſe compilation he reviſed before it went to preſs, was received with unuſual avidity by the public; and no leſs than four large impreſſions were ſold within the year. It was likewiſe tranſlated into moſt of the modern languages; and it is at preſent a proper companion to Hawkſworth's and the other modern voyages to the ſame quarter of the globe.

THE LIFE OF

PHILIP YORKE,

EARL OF HARDWICKE,

Lord Chancellor of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1691, to 1764.]

THIS able lawyer and ſtateſman, who had the misfortune not to be ſo well eſteemed in the latter as in the firſt capacity, was born at London, in the year

1691. His family, we are told, held a genteel rank in life, but were not opulent: this is all the account we have of them.

Mr. Yorke was deſigned for an attorney, and with that view ſerved his clerkſhip with a very eminent gentleman of that profeſſion; but his genius not permitting him to reſt contented with the mere drudgery of the law, he entered himſelf of the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn, and commenced barriſter. It is not aſcertained at what time he was called to the bar; but it is well known, that in a very few years, and while he was a very young man, he acquired very great reputation as a pleader; and in the year 1720, his great merit raiſed him to the office of ſolicitor-general to king George I. In 1723, he was promoted to that of attorney-general; and in this ſtation, which confers a privilege of being the firſt pleader in every cauſe that officer is engaged in, he diſplayed ſuch amazing powers of eloquence, and ſuch a maſterly knowledge of the laws of England, that he was pronounced to be one of the greateſt lawyers that had appeared at the Engliſh bar in the preſent century. With ſuch abilities it is no wonder that his promotion ſhould be rapid. In 1733, being then only in the 42d year of his age, he was conſtituted chief juſtice of the court of King's Bench; and in 1737 he attained the higheſt honours of the law, being made lord high chancellor of England, and of courſe ſpeaker of the houſe of lords. At the ſame time, he was made a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Hardwicke.

No man in the kingdom was ſo clearly intitled to this dignity as Mr. Yorke, from his theoretical knowledge, and his extenſive practice in the courts of law and equity; and therefore his advancement was conſidered, by the gentlemen of the profeſſion, as a great acquiſition to the court over which he was appointed to preſide.

In this high ſtation, his aſſiduity, his ſteady even temper,

temper, his great ſagacity, and his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, were equally conſpicuous and admired. The year 1746 furniſhed him with a freſh opportunity of exerciſing the powers of eloquence. He was conſtituted lord high ſteward of England for the trial of the rebel lords; and his ſpeech delivered upon paſſing ſentence againſt lord Lovat is reckoned one of the fineſt ſpecimens of modern oratory extant in the Engliſh language. In 1749, he was elected high ſteward of the univerſity of Cambridge.

His lordſhip held the ſeals till the year 1756, when he found himſelf obliged to reſign, upon Mr. Pitt's coming into adminiſtration, that able ſtateſman having full intelligence that the chancellor had too great an influence in the cabinet; and even his friends always confeſſed that he was but a weak politician, too apt to be ſwayed by partial views and intereſts; eſpecially ſoliciting great employments under the government for perſons but ill qualified to execute them, to which he paid no regard, provided their promotion could in any reſpect ſtrengthen his own intereſt, or advance the fortune of his family. His lordſhip, before he retired, obtained an acceſſion of dignity, being created earl of Hardwicke in 1754. He had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing all his children moſt ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed in life; and, in the year 1764, he paid the debt of nature, leaving the character of a moſt eloquent ſpeaker, a moſt able lawyer, and a good mortal man. On his death-bed, he declared, that he never wronged any man to increaſe his fortune; nor acquired a ſingle acre of land which he could not in his laſt moments think upon with tranquillity. But the higheſt encomium on his great abilities and integrity in the ſeat of equity is, that though he held the ſeals near twenty years, during which time many appeals from his decrees were carried up to the bar of the houſe of lords, not one of them was reverſed.

In his political capacity, the earl of Hardwicke was unfortunate and unpopular; his eagerneſs to provide

for his own family, to which he was ſtimulated by the ſelfiſh diſpoſition of his lady, made him a continual petitioner to the throne for partial favours, inſtead of employing his intereſt with the king for patriotic and benevolent purpoſes. His late majeſty was ſo ſenſible of this, that a ſhort time before he went out of office, having aſked for ſome place for one of his diſtant relations, he gave him this ſevere check: "My lord, you have been a frequent ſolicitor; but I have obſerved, that it has always been for ſome one of your family, or within the circle of your relations."

His political principles favoured ariſtocracy too much, and tended to the oppreſſion of the commons. On this ground he oppoſed the militia-bill, repreſenting the great danger that might ariſe from putting arms into the hands of the people, and diſciplining them for war, by which they would be ripe for civil commotions; and, upon ſome favourable occaſion, when they thought themſelves injured by government, might attempt to eſtabliſh a democracy, on the ſubverſion of monarchy and the houſe of peers. And when he found he could not prevent the bill paſſing into a law, he introduced ſeveral clauſes, which threw the eſtabliſhment more into the hands of the crown than it was intended by the framers of the bill; yet, even with theſe amendments, he continued to diſcountenance it to the laſt; for, in his own county, he ſo contrived matters, that the militia was neither embodied, nor commuted for in money, notwithſtanding the alternative clauſe for that purpoſe. With the ſame views, he exerted his abilities and influence in the houſe of peers, to throw out a new habeas corpus act, which had paſſed through the lower houſe *nemine contradicente*, and was framed to increaſe and ſecure this great privilege to the people, by preventing ſome ſhameful evaſions of the old act, which had been put in practice by the inferior officers of criminal and civil juſtice, aided by diſhoneſt lawyers.

But of all the unpopular meaſures adviſed in the ca-

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binet by this narrow-minded politician, none gave ſo much diſguſt, or leſſened his reputation ſo much, as the marriage act: ſome prudential regulations were indeed wanting, to prevent the ſhameful clandeſtine marriages of minors; and a ſhort bill for this purpoſe was drawn up, and laid before him by the judges; but to this he objected, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, probably becauſe it would wound the pride of the peers too much to oblige all perſons, without diſtinction, to be married publicly in pariſh churches, that their marriages might be regiſtered, and the more eaſily proved. Inſtead of which, he drew up another, filled with clauſes calculated to prevent all marriages without conſent, with a deſign, as it ſhould ſeem, to perpetuate, as much as might be, a fortune or a family once made, by continuing from generation to generation a vaſt quantity of property, and to facilitate at each deſcent the lumping of one great ſum, or one great family, to another, by bargain and ſale, in oppoſition to the generous principles of equality and diffuſive property, which free ſtates have always encouraged.

Upon the whole, however, his great abilities as a lawyer, and the general tenor of his conduct and example, were very beneficial to ſociety: we may therefore ſafely pronounce him to have been an illuſtrious ornament to his country.

His lordſhip married Margaret, one of the daughters of Charles Cocks, Eſq. by whom he had five ſons. 1. Philip, the preſent earl of Hardwicke. 2. Charles Yorke, who enjoyed diſtinguiſhed reputation at the bar, as a counſellor and attorney-general; he ſuddenly accepted the ſeals, with the title of lord Morton, and as ſuddenly died, two days after, univerſally lamented. 3. Sir Joſeph Yorke, formerly ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates general, and ſince created lord Dover. 4. John Yorke, formerly member of parliament for Ryegate. 5. The right reverend James Yorke, biſhop of Ely. He had likewiſe two daughters; Elizabeth,

married to lord Anſon; ſhe died in 1760, without iſſue; and Margaret, married to Sir John Heathcote, Bart.

THE LIFE OF
SIR JOHN BARNARD, KNT.

[A. D. 1685, to 1767.]

THE many eminent public ſervices performed by this patriotic citizen, for the benefit of the community at large, and of the inhabitants of the firſt commercial city in Europe in particular, have deſervedly found a place in the annals of his country, and are preſerved in this work as an animating example to incite thoſe who may riſe to the ſame honours, conferred on them by the free voice of their fellow-citizens, to tread in his ſteps, and to merit the exalted character given of him by contemporary hiſtorians and biographers.

He was born at Reading in Berkſhire, in the year 1685. His parents, who were Quakers, put him to a ſchool at Wandſworth in Surrey, which was ſolely appropriated to the education of perſons of that profeſſion. At this ſchool he is ſaid to have derived very little advantage in point of claſſical and polite literature; but the great loſs which he hence ſuſtained, his native good ſenſe, and love of knowledge, ſoon led him to ſupply, as far as poſſible, by carefully peruſing Engliſh tranſlations of the beſt Greek and Roman writers. His father was a wine-merchant, and he was early brought up to the ſame buſineſs, in which he engaged very ſucceſsfully on his own account. Before he was nineteen years of age he quitted the ſociety of the Quakers, and being baptized by Dr. Compton, biſhop of London, in his chapel at Fulham, he continued a member of the eſtabliſhed church till his death. As he carried on his buſineſs as a wine-merchant in the city of London, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf among his fellow-

fellow-citizens by his abilities, knowledge, and integrity, in the year 1722 he was choſen one of the repreſentatives in parliament for the city of London; and this important truſt was confided to him in ſeven ſucceſſive parliaments, his name always appearing at the head of the candidates upon every general election; and whatever oppoſition others met with, none of any conſequence was attempted againſt him.

In 1725, our worthy citizen diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by oppoſing a bill, intituled "A bill for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preſerving the peace, good order, and government of the ſaid city." The grounds on which Sir John Barnard oppoſed it were, that it made an alteration in the city-charter, by repealing a part of the ancient rights and privileges contained therein, by which a bad precedent was eſtabliſhed for the crown to violate corporation-charters at pleaſure; that it took away the rights of a great number of honeſt citizens to vote at wardmote elections, who had enjoyed that privilege from time immemorial; that it abridged the privileges of the common council; and that it transferred too great a weight of authority and influence from that aſſembly to the court of mayor and aldermen, thereby, in a great meaſure, ſubverting the ancient conſtitution of the city. Counſel were heard upon the petitions of the common council, and of ſeveral citizens, at the bar of both houſes, againſt this bill; and in favour of it, upon the petitions of the court of mayor and aldermen, and other citizens; and it met with a ſtrong oppoſition.

The particular clauſes which in fact infringed the charter, and, under the ſanction of law, broke through the rules of equity, were, 1. That no citizen ſhould have a right of voting at wardmote elections, unleſs he rented, or otherwiſe inhabited (as maſter) a houſe of ten pounds a year, though he ſhould pay all pariſh taxes and dues: this was conſidered as an unjuſtifiable hardſhip; and it occaſioned ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies

of

of the poorer citizens reſorting every day to Weſtminſter, to know the event of the bill, and ſuch loud complaints, that the government thought proper to double the guards at St. James's and at Leiceſter-houſe, and to take every neceſſary precaution to preſerve the peace. 2. That no act ſhould paſs in common council for the future (except what relates to the nomination of a few city-officers), without the aſſent of the major part of the court of mayor and aldermen preſent, in ſuch common council. The counſel for the bill inſiſted, that the mayor and aldermen had anciently that right which this clauſe eſtabliſhes; but the proof of that right appeared ſo remote and obſcure, that ſeveral lords in the upper houſe proteſted againſt it; and becauſe on the other ſide it appeared plainly, that from the time the city was firſt incorporated to that of bringing in this bill, ſuch a claim has been very ſeldom made, and has never been acknowledged. They therefore deſired the opinion of the judges on the legality of infringing the charter and the ancient rights, cuſtoms, and privileges, enjoyed by the common citizens; but this motion being put, it was carried in the negative, and the bill paſſed. Sir John Barnard received the thanks of the court of common council for the active part he took in oppoſition to this act; and the moſt obnoxious part of it, which granted a negative power to the lord mayor and aldermen, was repealed in 1746.

In the year 1727, he was choſen alderman of Dowgate-ward, upon the death of John Crowley, Eſq. who had enjoyed that honour only a few months. The following year he prepared a bill for the better encouragement and regulation of ſeamen in the merchants ſervice, which he carried through the houſe with great credit to himſelf; and it received the royal aſſent in May 1729; and in the ſame ſeſſion he took an active part in the inquiry appointed to be made into the ſtate of the goals of this kingdom; which took its riſe from the iniquitous and cruel conduct of Thomas Bambridge, Eſq.

Eſq. warden of the Fleet, who had put ſeveral debtors in irons, particularly Sir Robert Rich, Baronet; and had ſuffered others, from venality, to eſcape. When Bambridge and his agents were committed to Newgate, and the attorney-general was ordered to proſecute them, alderman Barnard took great pains as a magiſtrate to procure information of the ſeveral abuſes committed in the Fleet-priſon, to the oppreſſion of the unfortunate debtors; and by a pathetic repreſentation of the grievances they laboured under at that time, he was highly inſtrumental in procuring an immediate act of inſolvency, and in framing an act for the better regulating the Fleet-priſon, and more effectually preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices on the part of the warden and his deputies. But our worthy alderman did not confine his public ſervices merely to domeſtic occurrences; his extenſive capacity took a wider ſphere of action; and upon queſtions of general policy, in which the honour or intereſt of his country with reſpect to foreign tranſactions was concerned, he ſhewed himſelf to be a firm patriot, and an able politician. Thus, in the year 1730, when a bill was brought into the houſe by the miniſter, to prohibit all his majeſty's ſubjects, and all perſons reſiding in the kingdom, from lending money to foreigners, he took the lead in the oppoſition to it. The bill was calculated to put a ſtop to the negociation of a loan for the ſervice of the emperor of Germany, amounting to 400,000l. then in agitation on the Exchange of London. The alderman had no objection to a bill particularly framed by naming the emperor, and the expreſs purpoſe of the act, to put an end to this negociation; but he ſtrongly argued againſt a general prohibition of this kind, as laying a violent and detrimental reſtraint on commerce, and as tending to throw a very lucrative branch of trade ſolely into the hands of the Dutch, to the benefit of the bank of Amſterdam, and to the prejudice of the merchants, and the monied intereſt of England. In fact, if ſome amendments had

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not been made to this bill, it would not have been ſafe for any merchant to have advanced money to any foreign correſpondent, upon any extraordinary emergency, in the intercourſes of trade; and, as he juſtly obſerved, the exchequer would have been converted into a court of inquiſition; for there was a clauſe in it, empowering the attorney-general, by Engliſh bill in the court of exchequer, to extort diſcovery, by exacting an oath from ſuſpected perſons. The oppoſition ſo far ſucceeded, that the bill was conſiderably amended before it paſſed; and an explanation was given by the miniſtry, that his majeſty did not mean to prevent his ſubjects from lending money to the king of Portugal, or any other prince in alliance with him, and that the only reaſon for not naming the emperor in the bill was, that by making it general he could have no foundation to come to an open rupture with England on this account.

The next exertion of his patriotic attention to the faithful diſcharge of his duty to his conſtituents, was in the caſe of the exciſe-ſcheme, brought into the houſe of commons by the miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, then at the head of the treaſury, on the 14th of March 1733, in a committee of the whole houſe, which had been appointed to conſider of the moſt proper methods for the ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues already charged upon, and payable from, tobacco and wines. The miniſter expatiated on the frauds that had been committed for many years by the ſmugglers and fraudulent dealers in theſe articles, to the enriching themſelves at the expence of the public revenues. He ſaid, that the tobacco planters in America were reduced almoſt to deſpair, by the many frauds that had been committed in that trade, by the heavy duties paid on importation, and by the ill uſage of their factors and agents in England; he had therefore a ſcheme to propoſe which would remedy theſe evils, increaſe the public revenues to the amount of 200,000l. or 300,000l. per annum,

annum, and greatly benefit the fair trader. And as the laws of the cuſtoms had been found ineffectual for preventing the frauds complained of, he propoſed, "To add the laws of exciſe to the laws of the cuſtoms, by repealing great part of the duty paid on importation, and, in lieu thereof, laying an inland duty or exciſe of fourpence per pound on the conſumption, to be collected by the exciſe-officers, and ſubjected to the exciſe-laws." The firſt regular ſtep in this buſineſs was to move in the committee a repeal of the importation-duties granted by ſeveral acts in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and queen Anne. Micajah Perry, as ſenior alderman, and one of the repreſentatives of the city, opened the debate in oppoſition to this motion; he admitted that frauds had been committed in the tobacco-trade, but not to the amount ſtated by the miniſter; as to the hardſhips of the tobacco-planters, they had been put upon complaining, by letters ſent to them from adminiſtration for that purpoſe; and they now repented it. He obſerved, that, if this ſcheme took effect, they would be in a much worſe condition, for no man here would be concerned in the trade, whereas now the merchants of this kingdom ſent ſhips to receive the tobacco in America, and advanced the planters ready money, till it could be brought to market and ſold. But, if the new plan took place, ſo far from being an advantage to the fair trader, or the honeſt factor, it would ruin both; how then could it benefit the public revenues?

Sir John Barnard took it up in a commercial and a political light, and ſaid, "It ſeemed to be the laſt branch of liberty they had to contend for, that it took away their ancient birth-right, trials by juries, from all perſons concerned in this branch of trade. They had already ſubjected great numbers of the people of this nation to the arbitrary laws of exciſe, and this ſcheme would extend this ſubjection to ſo many more, that the fatal conſequences were to be dreaded.

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" It had been ſaid, his majeſty was a wiſe and a good prince. But no argument could be drawn from thence, to induce them to ſurrender their liberties and privileges. Though his majeſty ſhould never make a bad uſe of it, his ſucceſſors might. A ſlave that has the good fortune to meet with a humane maſter, is nevertheleſs a ſlave. Their liberties were too valuable, and were purchaſed at too high a price, to be ſported with, or wantonly given up to the beſt of kings: he hoped they had the ſame value for their liberties as their anceſtors had; if ſo, they would certainly uſe all peaceable means to preſerve them; and if ſuch ſhould prove ineffectual, he hoped there was no Engliſhman but would uſe thoſe methods their anceſtors had done, and tranſmit them to their poſterity in the ſame glorious condition they found them, and not ſacrifice the conſtitution to the poor pretence of ſuppreſſing a few frauds in the collecting the public revenues, the whole amount of which appeared to be no more, according to the confeſſion of the commiſſioners themſelves, than 40,000l. per annum, which might be prevented without entering upon ſuch dangerous meaſures."

Though all the city-members put a negative upon the motion, yet it was carried through the committee, together with ſeveral other reſolutions, which were warmly debated for two days; and upon the report being made to the houſe, all the reſolutions of the committee were agreed to; and upon the queſtion for leave to bring in a bill accordingly, the houſe divided, for the bill 249, againſt it 189. During the debate, the people being alarmed, flocked to Weſtminſter in great multitudes, and filled all the avenues to the houſe of commons.

In all promiſcuous aſſemblies of this ſort, many of the populace, excited only by curioſity, will be found intermixed with citizens of reputation and property concerned in the buſineſs. This happened to be the caſe

caſe upon the preſent occaſion; and ſeveral members, the known friends to the exciſe-ſcheme, having been groſly inſulted in going to and returning from the houſe, Sir Robert Walpole complained of it to the houſe. He ſaid, Theſe people would not have crowded to their door, if they had not been inſtigated by others of higher rank; that circular letters had been ſent by the beadles of the wards in the city, ſummoning the citizens, almoſt at their peril, to come down that day (the 14th of March) to the houſe of commons; he had one of thoſe letters in his pocket, ſigned by a deputy of a ward (looking at the ſame time at Sir John Barnard); and he concluded his ſpeech with the following unguarded expreſſions, which had well nigh coſt him his life:

"Gentlemen might call the multitude, now at their door, a modeſt multitude. But whatever temper they were in when they came there, it might be very much altered now: after having waited ſo long (till near two in the morning of the 15th), it might be very eaſy for ſome deſigning ſeditious perſon to raiſe a tumult amongſt them: he could not think it prudent or regular to uſe any methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to that place on any pretence. Gentlemen might give them what name they thought fit: it might be ſaid they came hither as humble ſupplicants, but he knew whom the law called STURDY BEGGARS. And thoſe who brought them there could not be certain they would not behave in the ſame manner."

Alderman Barnard then riſing to ſpeak, the friends of the miniſter called loudly for the queſtion; but Sir John Cotton over-ruled it at length, by crying out, *to order*, and appealing to the chairman of the committee, in a manner which ſhews the eſteem in which our patriot was held at this early ſtage of his public life. "Sir, I hope you will call gentlemen to order. There is now a gentleman got up to ſpeak, who ſpeaks as well as any gentleman in the houſe, and

who deſerves attention as much as any gentleman that ever ſpoke in this houſe. Beſides, Sir, he is one of the repreſentatives of the greateſt and richeſt city in Europe; a city which is greatly intereſted in this debate; and therefore *he muſt* be heard." The committee being called to order, Sir John Barnard made the following ſtinging reply to Sir Robert Walpole's inſinuations thrown out againſt him:

"Sir, I know of no unfair or irregular methods made uſe of to bring people from the city to your doors; but any gentlemen or merchants might lawfully deſire their friends, by letters or otherwiſe, to come down to the court of requeſts, and ſolicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project they thought prejudicial to them. This is the undoubted right of the ſubject, and what has been practiſed upon all occaſions. The honourable member talked of STURDY BEGGARS (highwaymen or robbers); but I aſſure him, thoſe I ſaw at the door deſerve the name of STURDY BEGGARS, as little as that honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever. The city of London was well appriſed of what we were to be upon this day; where they had their information I do not know; but I am ſure they have a right notion of the ſcheme, and are ſo generally and ſo zealouſly bent againſt it, that, whatever methods might have been uſed to call them thither, I am ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal methods to have prevented their coming."

The raſh expreſſion of Sir Robert was not readily forgotten, nor ever forgiven; and when the bill was brought in to be read a firſt time, on the 4th of April, the crowd without doors was much greater than before: the mob were very near ſeizing him, and might have done it, if Mr. Cunningham, a Scots member, had not drawn his ſword and kept them off, till Sir Robert had got into the avenue to the houſe! Some of the other members in office were likewiſe ill-treated;

and

and perhaps this behaviour contributed not a little to form the inconſiderable majority by whom the firſt reading of the bill was carried: the numbers upon the diviſion were 236 for it to 200 againſt it.

No miniſter would chooſe to riſk his credit upon 36 votes; and by this time, petitions from the city of London, in their corporate capacity, and from ſeveral other cities, were brought to the bar of the houſe. Sir Robert, therefore, very prudently moved, on the day appointed for the ſecond reading, which was the 11th, that it be put off till the 12th of June; but the oppoſition now perceiving that they had carried their point, contended for having it abſolutely rejected: however, finding that the miniſter intended likewiſe to adjourn the committee for the further improvement and regulating of the revenues, into which this ſcheme had been firſt introduced, to a diſtant day, they acquieſced in his motion; and thus ended this dangerous project. The rejoicings made in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and in divers parts of the kingdom, were equal to any that had been known for the moſt ſignal victories over a foreign enemy.

But, notwithſtanding the great, juſt, and ſucceſsful oppoſition, that was made to this pernicious bill, another bill of the ſame kind, equally unjuſtifiable, and founded on principles equally unconſtitutional, was brought in, and paſſed into a law, in the year 1789, under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, ſon to the great earl of Chatham. Some oppoſition was made to it, but not ſuch an oppoſition as the bill deſerved. No real or pretended augmentation of the public revenue can be a compenſation for acts ſo hoſtile to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

In 1734, Sir John Barnard brought into the houſe, and carried, the famous bill to prevent ſtock-jobbing; which put a ſtop to the moſt iniquitous branches of that ſpecies of gaming.

In 1735, he alſo moved in the houſe of commons,

for leave to bring in a bill to limit the number of playhouſes, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of players, which was now got to an amazing height, ſtrolling companies performing without any licence in all quarters of the town. For want of proper ſupport, it failed at this time; but the miniſter himſelf ſaw the expediency of the meaſure two years afterwards, and brought in a bill upon a ſimilar plan, but with ſome very improper clauſes, which paſſed into a law.

Upon the quarrel becoming public between the late king and his royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, Sir John Barnard, though he did not make himſelf in any reſpect a party, by paying his court to the prince at Leiceſter-houſe, which was deemed a high offence at St. James's, yet thought proper to join thoſe members of the houſe of commons, who were for ſettling an annual income on the prince of 100,000l. per annum, independent of the crown. Accordingly, he ſeconded Mr. Pultney's motion for that purpoſe, in the ſeſſions of 1737, on this patriotic principle, that the heir apparent, or any other prince of the royal blood, ought not to be ſo totally dependent on the king for his ſubſiſtence, that the dread of its being with-held or kept in arrear, ſhould deter him from ſpeaking his ſentiments freely on the conduct of the king's miniſters. The motion miſcarried by the influence of the miniſter, as did another of a more public nature, made by Sir John Barnard in the ſame ſeſſion of parliament: "The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of the national debt, a ſtate of which had been delivered on the 18th of March, when it amounted to 47,955,958l. 3s. 3½d. a debate aroſe upon the intereſt payable for this debt; and ſeveral of the members concurring in opinion with Sir John, that the intereſt was too high, he moved, "that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to raiſe money, either by ſale of annuities, or by borrowing, at an intereſt not exceeding 3 per cent. a ſum ſufficient to redeem

deem the old South Sea annuities, which bore 4 per cent. intereſt; and that ſuch of the annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities ſhould be preferred to all others."

Evidently calculated as it was for public utility, as later experience has demonſtrated, it met with great oppoſition from the treaſury-bench; but Sir John Barnard's arguments were ſo unanſwerable, that it was referred to a committee to draw up a bill on the principles of the motion. Accordingly the committee ſat, reported their approbation of the motion, and were ordered to bring in the bill, which was read a firſt and ſecond time; but, upon the motion for committing it, it was rejected by a miniſterial majority.

In the year 1738, Sir John Barnard was lord mayor of London; and though he met with a ſevere domeſtic affliction in the death of his lady during his mayoralty, he attended to the duties of this high ſtation with unweared aſſiduity, and ſupported the dignity of chief magiſtrate with firmneſs, activity, and impartiality; for which he received the thanks of the corporation.

The year 1740 produced ſome diſtreſsful events, which gave him an opportunity of demonſtrating his zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country in her commercial concerns. After war had been declared againſt Spain in 1739, the ſeas were covered with privateers, ſailing under Spaniſh colours, moſt of which were French ſhips, equipped with French ſubjects, and in a perfidious manner lent to Spain, to enable the Spaniards to make more frequent captures at ſea than they could otherwiſe have done. The trading part of the nation exclaimed loudly at the ſucceſs of theſe privateers, which was imputed to the negligence of the admiralty, in not providing proper convoys for our merchant-ſhips, ſo that many of them were taken in the chops of the Channel. As ſoon as the parliament met, which was on the 15th of November, Sir John Barnard, in a debate upon an addreſs

in anſwer to the king's ſpeech, complained of the little care that had been taken, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, to protect the traders of Great Britain who, he affirmed, had been much greater ſufferers by captures of their ſhips than the Spaniſh ſubjects. This well-timed remonſtrance in parliament had its deſired effect; the admiralty board took the matter into conſideration, and a larger number of ſhips of war were ſtationed in the Weſt Indies, and ſent out on cruiſing voyages to thoſe parts which were moſt infeſted by Spaniſh privateers.

In the ſame ſeſſion of parliament, Sir John Barnard ſupported Mr. William Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Lyttleton, in carrying the penſion-bill through the lower houſe; it was a bill to exclude all penſioners of the crown from ſeats in the houſe of commons. When it came into the houſe of lords, it occaſioned a long and paſſionate debate, and upon a diviſion it was thrown out.

We have an undoubted right, from the general character of Sir John Barnard, to conſider the next public meaſure to which he gave the ſanction of his vote, and added the weight of his intereſt, as founded in the ſame zeal for his country, which animated him upon all occaſions; and we muſt therefore reckon in the number of his public ſervices his joining with his friends in ſupporting the motion of Mr. Sandys, in the ſeſſion of 1741, for an addreſs to his majeſty, "That he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, comptroller and under treaſurer of the exchequer, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever."

This motion was ſeconded by lord Limerick; and the principal perſons who ſuſtained, by the moſt eloquent ſpeeches, and pointed out with the greateſt energy

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gy, and accuracy, the many errors and mal-practices of adminiſtration, were Sir John Barnard, Mr. William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, Mr. Pulteney, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Mr. Gibſon.

The defence made by Sir Robert Walpole is a maſterpiece of cool reaſoning; and the debate upon the motion is one of the beſt on record. It laſted till three in the morning, when above ſixty of the country gentlemen withdrew, who were thereupon called *ſneakers;* and the queſtion being put, it was loſt by a very great majority, 290 to 106. But though it miſcarried, the ſpeeches made by the gentlemen who ſupported the motion had ſuch an effect out of doors, that the character of Sir Robert Walpole was ruined in the opinion of the public, and his authority from this day viſibly declined: and in the following ſpring he accepted a peerage, and reſigned all his employments.

We have only to add, as a further proof of Sir John Barnard's public ſpirit, integrity, and conſtitutional independency, as one of the repreſentatives of the capital city of England, by the example of which the reſt are generally influenced, that he was a ſteady friend to triennial parliaments; and as often as the queſtion for ſhortening the duration of parliaments came into debate, which happened frequently while he ſat in the houſe, he ſupported it with reſolution and ſtrong force of argument; and though the repeal of the ſeptennial bill could not be accompliſhed, he had the happineſs to live in a time, when miniſters and their adherents gave decent attention in the houſe to every propoſition advanced or ſupported by the repreſentatives of ſo reſpectable a body as the citizens of London; and they had the ſatisfaction of hearing manly replies, and ſometimes convincing arguments, againſt their motions. Nay, Sir John Godſchall and Sir John Barnard were within 20 votes of carrying the repeal of ſeptennial parliaments, in 1742.

Not

Not ſuch has been the fate of Mr. Sawbridge, formerly lord mayor of London, and one of the city members, who treading in the ſteps of his great predeceſſor, Sir John Barnard, in his parliamentary conduct, has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an unwearied attention to his duty, and by promoting the true intereſt of his country and of his conſtituents upon all occaſions. Being clearly of opinion, that ſhort and frequent parliaments form a part of the ſuperior excellence of our conſtitution, and the moſt effectual barriers againſt corruption, bribery, and the undue miniſterial influence of the crown, he annually makes a motion, for ſhortening the duration of parliaments; and he takes care to give previous notice of his intention; yet important as this ſubject is in itſelf, and ſtill more ſo from the reſpect due to the character and ſituation of the mover, it is generally received with a ſneer, and no reply whatever is made to it; but the impenetrable miniſterial phalanx (like Turkiſh mutes, who, deſtined to ſtrangle ſome devoted victim, wait in profound ſilence for the imperial mandate of deſtruction) range themſelves on each ſide of the reigning political deity, and eagerly look for the queſtion; which being put, they ſacrifice it in a confuſed vociferation of their favourite monoſyllable, NO.

We ſhall now take leave of Sir John Barnard as a member of parliament, and attend to his conduct as a magiſtrate. He was many years alderman of Dowgate-ward; but upon the death of Sir John Thompſon, in 1749, he removed, purſuant to an act of common council, and took upon him the cuſtody of Bridge-ward Without, always held by the ſenior alderman, who upon this removal takes the title of the Father of the City. He was many years preſident of Chriſt's Hoſpital, and a vigilant, active governor of Bethlehem and Bridewell Hoſpitals. At length, being oppreſſed by the infirmities of age, and worn out with the fatigues of public buſineſs, in the year 1758, he deſired leave to reſign his gown; and the ſenſe of his great merit, as it is expreſſed

preſſed by the vote of thanks of his fellow-citizens, is the beſt encomium on this illuſtrious patriot that can be given to the reader: we have therefore thought proper to tranſcribe it from the records.

In the court of mayor and aldermen, upon a motion of Sir Robert Ladbroke, the thanks of the court of aldermen were given to Sir John Barnard, and expreſſed in the following terms: "It is unanimouſly agreed and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir John Barnard, Knight, late one of the aldermen, and father of this city, for his conſtant attendance and ſalutary councils in this court; his wiſe, vigilant, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; his unwearied zeal for the honour, ſafety, and proſperity of his fellow-citizens; his inviolable attachment to the laws and liberties of his country; and for the noble example he has ſet of a long and uninterrupted courſe of virtue in private as well as in public life."

At a court of common-council, it was likewiſe unanimouſly reſolved, upon the motion of John Paterſon, Eſq. "That Sir John Barnard, Knight, ſo juſtly and emphatically ſtyled the Father of the City, having lately (to the great and laſting regret of this court) thought proper to reſign the office of alderman, the thanks of this court be given him, for having ſo long and faithfully devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his fellow-citizens; for the honour and influence which this city has, upon many occaſions, derived from the dignity of his character, and the wiſdom, ſteadineſs, and integrity of his conduct; for his firm adherence to the conſtitution both in church and ſtate; his noble ſtruggles for liberty; and his diſintereſted and invariable purſuit of the true glory and proſperity of his king and country; uninfluenced by power; unawed by clamour; and unbiaſſed by the prejudice of party."

No addition can be given to this perfect character; we have therefore only to obſerve, that, in order to perpetuate the memory of his ſignal ſervices to the city

ty, a ſtatue was voted by the ſame courts, and erected in his life-time on the Royal Exchange, repreſenting him in full length, in his magiſterial robes.

Thus crowned with honour, and full of years, he retired to his country-ſeat at Clapham, where he died in the month of Auguſt 1767.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britannica. Mortimer's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. Parliamentary Debates. Noorthouck's Hiſtory of London.

MEMOIRS OF

THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES,

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, &c.

And of his Brother,

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY PELHAM.

[A. D. 1693, to 1768.]

THE long and active part which the late duke of Newcaſtle had in the adminiſtration of the public affairs of Great Britain, renders the few anecdotes of his life which we have been able to collect of too much importance to be omitted.

His grace was the ſon of Thomas Pelham, a peer of the realm, by the title of baron Pelham of Loughton. He was born in the year 1693; and in 1711, he ſucceeded to the title and large eſtate of his uncle, John Holles, duke of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, who made him his adopted heir; and her majeſty queen Anne ſoon after empowered him to take the ſurname and bear the arms of the family of Holles, purſuant to the laſt will of his uncle. From this time, therefore, his ſtyle and title ran as we have given it at the head of theſe memoirs. But ſtill he only ſat as a baron in the houſe of peers,

peers, the title of Duke of Newcaſtle upon Tyne being only honorary. However, he was diſtinguiſhed as a young nobleman of an aſpiring genius towards the cloſe of the reign of queen Anne, and his large eſtate giving him an extenſive intereſt and influence, he was conſidered by the Whig party, at this early ſtage of life, as a powerful friend. The Tory miniſtry, during the laſt four years of the queen's reign, having purſued meaſures which tended to the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, the duke openly avowed his principles, and his attachment to George I. with whom he had the honour to correſpond after the death of the electreſs Sophia, in 1714, when it became neceſſary for the court of Hanover to be appriſed of all the motions of the Engliſh miniſtry, and to be well aſſured who were their real friends.

Upon the demiſe of the queen, the ſame year, the duke of Newcaſtle exerted himſelf in promoting a loyal zeal for the new revolution throughout Nottinghamſhire, where his influence was univerſal; and having ſecured this county in the intereſt of George I. he flew to London, and entered into an aſſociation with the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the Whig party, who were conſidered by the new ſovereign as his beſt friends. Accordingly his majeſty, on his arrival in England, took the reins of government out of the hands of the Tories, and made a total change in the adminiſtration. The duke of Newcaſtle, however, was too young to expect any conſiderable ſhare in the government, and the king had ſo many great men amongſt the Whigs to provide for, whoſe political abilities had ſtood the teſt of many years experience, that it was thought expedient at this time to reward his zeal in ſupport of the houſe of Hanover, by new dignities and poſts of emolument, rather than by any office in the departments of public buſineſs.

In the month of October 1714, he was created viſcount Pelham of Haughton in the county of Nottingham,

ham, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham and his heirs male, and earl of Clare in the county of Suffolk; and appointed lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Nottingham. In November he was made cuſtos rotulorum of Middleſex, and lord-lieutenant of the ſaid county, and of the city of Weſtminſter, in December following. He was alſo conſtituted ſteward, warden, and keeper of the foreſt of Sherwood, and park of Folewood.

By this time the diſaffected party, known by the name of Jacobites, who wiſhed for the reſtoration of the family of the Stuarts, and ſeemed determined to run all hazards to accompliſh it, found it their intereſt to unite with the diſcontented Tories, who were ripe for any miſchief, to revenge the affront and inconvenience of having been diſmiſſed from all employments of truſt and emolument under the new government. This union formed a powerful oppoſition to all the meaſures of the Whig adminiſtration. The preſs teemed with ſeditious pamphlets, the populace aſſembled in a tumultuous manner in many parts of the capital, and proceeded to acts of open violence; breaking the windows of the houſes of all perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by eſpouſing the cauſe of government, and pulling down the meeting-houſes of the Proteſtant diſſenters, who had been the early and zealous ſupporters of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Matters were carried ſo far at length, that the clergy in the intereſt of the Tories, and thence denominated High-church-men, encouraged the people to commit theſe diſorders by inflammatory ſermons. Even the very guards were ſpirited up to mutiny, on account of their clothing being of an inferior quality to what was uſual, which aroſe from the avarice of the agent. All this time the Jacobites kept up a correſpondence with the pretender, and gave him encouragement to attempt an invaſion; aſſuring him that he might rely on the aſſiſtance of the Tories, who were determined at all events to ſubvert the

the preſent goverment. The intelligence of the pretender's deſigns being conveyed to government in the manner related in the life of the earl of Stair, proper meaſures were taken to fruſtrate his ſcheme; but the diſaffected in all parts of the kingdom, buoyed up by falſe hopes, roſe in ſeveral parts of the kingdom in formidable mobs, and committed great depredations, particularly on the property of diſſenters. As to the London mob it increaſed daily, and went by the name of the Ormond Mob. In this ſituation of affairs, government was obliged to act with great delicacy; for employing the military to ſuppreſs theſe rioters would have weakened the intereſt of the houſe of Hanover, and have rendered adminiſtration unpopular; the miniſtry, therefore, took a meaſure which could not be juſtified but under ſuch particular circumſtances. Whig mobs were ſecretly encouraged; and the duke of Newcaſtle ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the chief of a mob, called after him, which had more effect in driving the duke of Ormond out of the kingdom, and in checking the inſolence of the Tories, than the riot-act, or any other interpoſition of the civil power.

The king now judged it proper to give this active ſupporter of his cauſe freſh marks of his royal favour, by creating him marquis and duke of Newcaſtle under Line, in November 1715.

In April 1717, his grace was appointed lord-chamberlain of the houſehold, on the promotion of the duke of Bolton to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland: and the following year he was elected one of the knights-companions of the moſt noble order of the garter. Being now about the king's perſon, he had an opportunity of diſplaying his talents for ſtate affairs; and it was not long before his majeſty put him to the teſt, by conſulting him as a cabinet counſellor, on the famous quadruple alliance between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, the king of France, and the ſtates general. As his grace was conſulted upon the terms of this negocia-

tion, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to ſign the treaty, which was executed at Whitehall on the 22d of July 1718.

In 1719, his majeſty went to Hanover, and the duke of Newcaſtle was appointed one of the lords juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government, during the king's abſence. He enjoyed the ſame honour, upon ſimilar occaſions, at different times, in the abſence of George I. and of his late majeſty.

The duke held the poſt of lord chamberlain till the month of April 1724; when he reſigned it, upon being appointed one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, upon a change in the miniſtry.

His grace ſucceeded the lord Carteret, who was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the ſame time, the duke's brother, Mr. Henry Pelham, was appointed ſecretary at war; and from this period we may conſider the two brothers as ſtateſmen, whoſe united intereſt and abilities paved the way for their attainment of that plenitude of power which they enjoyed ſome years after.

In 1726, his grace was choſen recorder of Nottingham, an honour at that time done to the duke; though, when he became firſt lord of the treaſury, his continuing to hold this office was a return of the compliment to the county.

The acceſſion of his late majeſty in 1727, made no alteration in the cabinet; all the great officers of ſtate were continued; and the ſyſtem of politics eſtabliſhed by George I. was ſtrictly adhered to for ſome time. Sir Robert Walpole was indeed at the head of the treaſury, but the ſupreme direction of the public affairs, of ſo potent an empire as that of Great Britain, was not yet uſurped by any ſingle preſuming man. Lord viſcount Townſhend was conſidered as the chief manager of foreign concerns; his great knowledge in treaties and negociations, acquired on embaſſies to different courts, qualifying him for this department in preference to the duke of Newcaſtle, who, being the junior ſecretary of ſtate,

ſtate, we find very little notice taken of him in the annals of the firſt ten years of the reign of George II. except that he and his brother conſtantly and firmly ſupported Sir Robert Walpole after he aſſumed the envied poſt of prime, or rather ſole, miniſter of Great Britain; but when that ſtateſman's power began to decline, it was viſible to the courtiers, that the two brothers were taking meaſures to undermine, and to ſucceed him. And in 1737, a ſtrong proof of the increaſing influence of the duke's friends was given by his being elected high-ſteward of the univerſity of Cambridge.

In the ſeſſion of parliament in the year 1739, the duke of Newcaſtle was intruſted with a buſineſs of great importance, becauſe it was likely to meet with a powerful oppoſition. This was, to lay before the houſe of peers a ſubſidy treaty with the king of Denmark, by which his majeſty had agreed to pay the Daniſh monarch 70,000l. per annum, on condition that he ſhould furniſh Great Britain with a ſuccour of 6000 men, at any time when they ſhould be required. His grace likewiſe undertook to deliver a meſſage from the king, deſiring the houſe would enable him to fulfil this engagement. This treaty, and the demand conſequent to it, was violently attacked by the anti-miniſterial peers, and particularly by lord Carteret, then out of office, who was an able ſtateſman, and an eloquent ſpeaker; but the duke of Newcaſtle exerted himſelf upon this occaſion, and ſo forcibly pointed out the expediency of the meaſure, the nation being upon the eve of a war with Spain, that the treaty was approved, after a long and animated debate, by a conſiderable majority.

In the houſe of commons the treaty met with very rough treatment from Sir William Whyndham and Mr. Pulteney, the leading members in the oppoſition, againſt Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration; but Mr. Henry Pelham ſupported it by plauſible arguments, well knowing that if a war ſhould enſue, and the reins of govern-

ment ſhould come into the hands of himſelf and his brother, they could not poſſibly carry it on without ſubſidiary treaties for foreign troops; and the vote for the ſupply being carried as much through the influence of Mr. Pelham as that of the miniſter, the brothers were looked upon with a very favourable eye at court: and it was foretold, that if any change took place in the miniſtry, they would certainly be placed at the head of affairs. However, upon the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, a mixed adminiſtration was formed; the earl of Wilmington was made firſt lord of the treaſury; and lord Carteret was appointed one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and had the greateſt ſhare of power in his department; ſo that this was called the Carteret Adminiſtration. A miniſtry compoſed of ſome of the moſt violent members in the late oppoſition in both houſes, of a few friends of the diſcarded premier, and of others who were forming a new oppoſition, in order to bring the Pelhams into power; in ſhort, of a medley of Whigs and Tories, could not be expected to act in concert, and therefore its diſſolution was foretold almoſt as ſoon as it was eſtabliſhed.

The earl of Wilmington ſucceeded Sir Robert as firſt lord of the treaſury; and Mr. Sandys, his great opponent in the houſe of commons, filled his other office, being alſo appointed one of the treaſury-board, and chancellor of the exchequer. The firſt meaſure of the new miniſtry was to gratify the popular wiſh, by ſetting on foot an inquiry into the conduct of affairs for twenty years paſt; a motion to appoint a committee for this purpoſe was brought into the houſe of commons on the 9th of March, by lord viſcount Limerick, and was ſupported by Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. William Pitt, and Lord Percival. It was oppoſed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Henry Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox; and, after a long debate, it was rejected, by a majority of two. However, on the 23d, a motion, varying only in its form, but having the ſame object in view, was carried by

by a majority of ſeven voices; and it was reſolved, that a committee of ſecrecy ſhould be choſen by ballot, to inquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, during the laſt ten years of his being firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer.

But the oppoſition given to theſe motions, by Mr. Pelham in the lower houſe, and to ſimiliar proceedings in the upper houſe by the duke of Newcaſtle, plainly demonſtrated that there was no concord in the new cabinet; and in the ſeſſion of parliament of the following year, an oppoſition was formed in both houſes, as formidable as that which had made the earl of Orford reſign; the continuing 16,000 Hanoverians in the pay of Great Britain, to fight the battles of the queen of Hungary on the continent, was ſtated to be a groſs impoſition on the Britiſh nation; and the diſtinguiſhed talents for which ſome of the gentlemen in the preſent miniſtry had been almoſt idolized while they were out of office, could not be diſcerned ſince they had the direction of public affairs; in fact, they had but few friends, and no great intereſt either in parliament or out of doors, and they were deſpiſed for having changed their principles and party. The miniſter, lord Carteret, poſſeſſed great abilites as a ſtateſman; he exerted them with great ſpirit in defence of the meaſures adopted by government; and he found means to obtain the approbation of the houſe of lords to the juſtly unpopular ſtep of retaining the 16,000 Hanoverian troops in the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1743; the carrying of this point, of the repeal of the gin-act, and obtaining a negative on two motions calculated to bring an odium on the miniſtry for the Auſtrian alliance, inſured them their poſts during the ſummer receſs of parliament, when lord Carteret accompanied the king to the army in Flanders; and the victory at Dettingen, gained by his majeſty in perſon, with his miniſter by his ſide, ſeemed to promiſe a triumph-

ant return to parliament the enſuing ſeſſion. But the oppoſition had been too buſy in lord Carteret's abſence: the anti-miniſterial writers had made an impreſſion on the minds of the people, and had excited in them a fixed averſion to the chief perſons who managed the helm of government. To effect this, many rumours were propagated; the burden of the taxes was ſtated; the true intereſt of the nation was ſaid to be ſacrificed to the aggrandiſement of a foreign electorate; no pains were ſpared to increaſe the national jealouſy of the Hanoverians; the reſignation of the great earl of Stair, who was diſguſted at the partiality ſhewn by the king to foreign generals, increaſed the diſcontent; and lord Carteret muſt have reſigned at this period, ſo great were the diſſentions in parliament and in the cabinet, if the unexpected news of an intended invaſion by the pretender's eldeſt ſon had not called upon all parties to unite in the common defence of their ſovereign, and of the nation.

In the mean time, the Newcaſtle intereſt had been greatly ſtrengthened by the advancement of Henry Pelham to the head of the treaſury, upon the death of the earl of Wilmington in July 1743, with which he likewiſe held the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and from this time the Whig party in adminiſtration preponderated, and the Tory intereſt, attached to lord Carteret, declined; ſo that towards the end of 1744, when the nation was ſettled, and all alarms about the pretender were over, the projected invaſion having miſcarried, lord Carteret threw up his poſt, and the ſeals of his office were given to lord Harrington, who, being brought in by the Pelhams, acted under them; and now the adminiſtration of the brothers commenced; Mr. Henry Pelham being conſidered as prime miniſter, and the duke of Newcaſtle as the ſecond perſon in power and office in the ſtate.

The following year afforded the new adminiſtration an opportunity of acquiring great popularity, by the well-

well-concerted active measures taken to suppress the rebellion in Scotland; a perfect harmony prevailed in both houses; there was no division upon any ministerial business during the whole session of parliament; and the victory gained at Culloden by the duke of Cumberland in April 1746, strengthened the public opinion of the new administration, by whose recommendation the duke had been appointed generalissimo of all the king's forces, and commander in chief against the rebels. The same entire approbation of the conduct of the Pelhams appeared in the succeeding session of parliament; the most affectionate addresses were presented to the throne, and the most liberal supplies granted for the support of the queen of Hungary against France and the king of Prussia. In a word, the nation seemed to congratulate itself on its escape from the great danger of a revolution unfavourable to civil and religious liberty, which might have been effected if the reins of government had been in the hands of the Tories.

Such was the happy situation of affairs at home; but the bad success of our military operations in Flanders in the campaign of 1747, particularly the defeat of the duke of Cumberland at the battle of Val, where the confederate army would have been cut to pieces, if it had not been for the signal valour of the late lord Ligonier, cast a gloom upon the aspect of foreign affairs, and gave a handle for opposition at the next meeting of parliament, which was a new one; and it must not be denied, that the brothers were charged with exerting undue influence at this general election, to procure the return of members in their interest; the opposition therefore was but very feeble; and the subsidy treaties with the queen of Hungary, the empress of Russia, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the prince of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were quietly voted, though the king, in his speech from the throne, had mentioned, that a congress would speedily be

be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpoſe of a general pacification between all the belligerent powers.

The congreſs accordingly took place in March 1748; and had to ſurmount a variety of difficulties and obſtructions, which the jarring intereſts of the contending parties had produced in the courſe of the negociation; but theſe being finally adjuſted, the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned on the 19th of April, and the definitive treaty on the 7th of October following.

But it was ſoon diſcovered by the diſcontented at home, that the Britiſh miniſters had been too precipitate in ſigning, and they were charged with aiming rather at acquiring a reputation for addreſs and diſpatch, than endeavouring to render their work firm and durable. It was found, that no proviſion had been made by the treaty to ſecure the right of the Britiſh ſubjects to navigate in the American ſeas, without being ſubject to ſearch from the Spaniſh guarda coſtas: and the diſgraceful meaſure of ſending two Britiſh noblemen to the court of France, to remain their as hoſtages for the reſtitution of Cape Breton, threw the nation into ſuch a ferment, that if the Pelhams had not made themſelves ſecure by forming a powerful intereſt gradually, before they took the lead in adminiſtration, they muſt have thrown up their poſts, as many of their predeceſſors had done, in order to put a ſtop to the popular clamour which prevailed againſt them without doors.

As to the poor hoſtages, the earl of Suſſex and lord Cathcart, they were inſulted in every practicable manner, and rendered ſo deſpicable in the eyes, not only of their own countrymen, but of the French ſubjects, that it is almoſt a wonder they could ſurvive the mortifications they underwent.

The parliament met on the 29th of November; and warm addreſſes of congratulation on the peace were preſented to the king; but it was evident the commons were in a different diſpoſition with reſpect to the miniſtry,

miniſtry, and by no means inclined to be ſo pliant as in the former ſeſſion. The addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech juſtly met with a violent oppoſition; the meaſure of concluding the peace, while the Ruſſians were on their march to join the Auſtrians, was loudly condemned; for it was ſaid that we might have dictated the terms of the peace, and having obtained great advantages for our allies, if this junction of the two armies had previouſly taken place. Intimations were likewiſe thrown out, that an inquiry would be ſet on foot as to the cauſes which had rendered the events of the war ſo little anſwerable to the prodigious expence incurred, and the known valour of the Britiſh troops; but theſe menaces produced no motion; and the addreſs was carried in the end without a diviſion.

However, when the houſe proceeded to the eſtimate of the ſupply for the ſervice of the year 1749, though a reduction had been made both of the land and ſea forces upon the peace, they found that the ſums abſolutely neceſſary to make good the engagements of parliament to the king, for the ſervices performed in the proſecution of the war; for diſcharging arrears, and making good deficiencies, would amount in the whole, to 8,000,000l. an amazing burthen upon the public; which gave occaſion to the oppoſition to treat Mr. Pelham with great ſeverity, as the author of all the debts and incumbrances with which the nation was loaded. Upon this occaſion, therefore, he ſhewed the ſtrength of his connections; for the expediency of granting the above mentioned ſupply was maintained with all the ſtrength of argument, and powers of oratory, by thoſe able ſpeakers, Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, and Mr. Murray, the preſent lord Manſfield, whoſe ſpeeches contributed, in a great meaſure, to turn the ſcale, and prevent any diviſion upon the queſtion

This ſtruggle being got over, and the people beginning to be more reconciled to the peace, the adminiſtration

ſtration was firmly rooted; and, in the courſe of the ſummer, the brothers promoted a very popular meaſure, which had in view the extenſion of our commerce, and was, in general, well received. This was the cultivation and improvement of the long-neglected ſettlement of Nova Scotia; great encouragement was given to ſoldiers, ſeamen, and artificers, to embark for this colony; and as it took off a great number of diſorderly perſons in the army and navy, who generally take to a bad courſe of life after a peace, it was conſidered as a very political, as well as a very beneficial regulation. The late earl of Halifax, then at the head of the board of trade and plantations, diſcovered great abilities, and a thorough knowledge of the commercial intereſts of his country upon this occaſion; and the active part he took in carrying the ſcheme into immediate execution was commemorated by giving his name to the firſt town built by the new ſettlers, who arrived ſafe at Nova Scotia, and marked out the plan of Halifax, in the month of July of this year.

Though the ſettlement of this colony ſwelled the eſtimate of the ſupply for 1750, yet Mr. Pelham met with no oppoſition in parliament, for he had now brought to maturity a ſcheme which had often been attempted, but had always miſcarried; this was a reduction of the intereſt on the national debt, without violating the faith of parliament, or affecting public credit. No opportunity could be more favourable than that in which he carried into execution this great finance-operation.

A great number of individuals at home had amaſſed princely fortunes by the war; and vaſt numbers of foreigners, during the troubles of Europe, had kept their money locked up, not knowing how to employ it to advantage with any degree of ſecurity. Theſe all ſhewed an eagerneſs to veſt their property in the Engliſh funds, and increaſed the number of purchaſers ſo conſiderably, that the ſtocks roſe; and it appeared that in reality

reality money came in ſo faſt from all quarters, that the intereſt of it upon the beſt ſecurity was little more than 3 per cent. Mr. Pelham judiciouſly availed himſelf of this criſis, and moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the intereſt of the 4 per cent. annuities to 3½ for ſeven years certain, and afterwards to 3 per cent. The miniſter took upon himſelf the whole ſtreſs of the debate upon this important ſubject; and he ſo fully convinced the houſe of the public advantages to be derived from the meaſure, that it was carried without much oppoſition; and the reſolutions taken by the houſe thereupon were printed, by way of advertiſement to the proprietors of the 4 per cents, in the London Gazette of November the 29th, 1749. The few who refuſed to ſubſcribe were paid off their principal and intereſt out of the ſinking-fund; and thus this great national ſaving was happily effected; and an addition of near 600,000l. per annum was made, after 1750, to the produce of the ſinking-fund.

In the month of May 1751, another public event took place, which does honour to the adminiſtration of the brothers: this was the alteration of the ſtyle; a ſcheme projected by the earl of Macclesfield, but which, from the ſelfiſhneſs and prejudices of individuals, could never have been carried into execution, if the duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pelham had not exerted the whole weight of their influence and intereſt in its ſupport. The advantages to the trading part of the king's ſubjects, in their correſpondence with foreign merchants, was ſelf-evident; but the landed gentlemen were at firſt apprehenſive of difficulties with regard to the expiration of leaſes, the payment of rents, &c. but the framers of the bill, having obviated every objection of this nature, by the great perſpicuity of the proviſions in the act, it paſſed with general approbation, and took place from the 1ſt day of January 1752: from which time, it was enacted, That that day ſhould be deemed the firſt of every enſuing year, throughout all his majeſty's dominions,

nions, and not the 25th of March, which had hitherto been conſidered as the firſt day of the year in the dates of moſt covenants and contracts, as well mercantile as others. By this new law it was alſo decreed, that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the ſecond and fourteenth days of September 1752, ſhould for that time be omitted, ſo that the day ſucceeding the ſecond ſhould be denominated the fourteenth of that month. By this eſtabliſhment of the new ſtyle, the equinoxes and ſolſtices will happen nearly on the ſame nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice.

The parliament roſe very early this year, on account of the king's deſire to viſit his German dominions; his majeſty having a favourite object in view, which was to carry the election of the archduke Joſeph, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, to be king of the Romans. For this purpoſe he ſet out for Hanover the latter end of March, and took the duke of Newcaſtle with him, that he might be the better enabled to concert the proper meaſures for accompliſhing this buſineſs. An electoral diet was ſoon called for this purpoſe by the elector of Mentz, through the influence of the courts of Vienna and Hanover; but the king of Pruſſia and the elector of Cologne exerted themſelves ſo effectually againſt the archduke, that the election did not take place.

It is ſuppoſed to have been during the courſe of this negociation, that ſeveral conſiderable and wealthy foreign Jews got acceſs to the duke of Newcaſtle, and propoſed a general naturalization in England of their people: finding encouragement, they wrote to their friends in England, to ſolicit Mr. Pelham on this ſubject; and as the moſt affluent amongſt the Engliſh Jews were well known to the miniſter, from their ſubſcribing conſtantly and largely to the annual ſchemes for raiſing the ſupplies during the late war, they puſhed the matter home, and had the addreſs to get their deſign ſupported by petitions from the clothing countries, repreſenting

ſenting the Jews as conſiderable exporters of our woollen manufactures; and recommending the propoſed act "to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion to be naturalized by parliament," as a meaſure that would make many rich foreign Jews come over to England with their effects; and, agreeably to the experience of former ages, they would certainly employ them in commerce, by which means our ſhipping would be increaſed, as well as the demand for our native manufactures. The bill accordingly paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent; but ſuch a popular clamour was raiſed againſt it, that it was repealed the following ſeſſions.

In the life of lord chancellor Hardwicke we have noticed the marriage-act, which paſſed at the ſame time as the Jew act; and occaſioned likewiſe no ſmall murmurings.

Though lord Hardwicke framed the bill, yet the principal promoter of it, wholly in the view of preventing clandeſtine marriages, was Mr. Pelham, and that from a domeſtic circumſtance but little known, and therefore not mentioned in the annals of his time. At this period public breakfaſtings and balls in the mornings, at ſundry houſes of entertainment in the environs of London, were univerſally in vogue. The places moſt frequented by perſons of diſtinction were Ruckholt-houſe in Eſſex, and Putney bowling-green-houſe: but as the company could not fail of being miſcellaneous, where money was taken at the door, it ſo happened, that a ſharper danced with the earl of Tilney's ſiſter at Ruckholt-houſe, engaged her affections, and was on the point of being clandeſtinely married to the lady, when fortunately his character was diſcovered. Nearly the ſame event happened to Miſs Pelham, ſiſter to Mr. Henry Pelham, and the duke of Newcaſtle; this lady found an amiable partner at Putney bowling-green-houſe, with whom ſhe frequently danced, and from thence an intimacy commenced, which

terminated in a declaration of love on the part of the young gentleman, which was ſo favourably received by Miſs Pelham, that ſhe invited him to her brother's houſe, where he made her ſeveral viſits, and had abſolutely gained her conſent to marry him; when a general officer accidentally paying her a viſit one afternoon, while the gallant was there, directly knew him to be Maclane, the famous highwayman, who had robbed him twice on the highway: an explanation enſued, the adventurer retired with great precipitation; and the general, finding that his diſcovery did not make that ſtrong impreſſion upon Miſs Pelham's mind which might have been expected, flew to Mr. Pelham, and laid the whole matter before him; which animated the miniſter to promote the mariage-act, an act as impolitic as it is unpopular: had it been confined to the higher ranks of life, the inconveniencies of clandeſtine marriages might have been provided againſt, without laying ſuch an injudicious reſtraint on the marriages of the common people, which, in a commercial country, ought to meet with all poſſible encouragement from the legiſlature.

This was the laſt public buſineſs, worthy our notice, in which Mr. Henry Pelham was concerned; for no material tranſaction happened in the ſeſſion of parliament opened on the 15th November 1753; and in the beginning of March 1754, this able ſtateſman died, ſincerely lamented by his ſovereign, and regretted by the nation, who readily forgave his few errors, in conſideration of his integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and candour.

The duke of Newcaſtle ſucceeded his brother as firſt lord of the treaſury, and Sir Thomas Robinſon received the ſeals of the ſecretary of ſtate held by his grace. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was ſoon after conferred on Mr. Legge. Lord chief juſtice Lee dying likewiſe in the courſe of the ſummer, Sir Dudley Rider was promoted to his vacant ſeat; and Mr. Murray,

Murray, now earl Mansfield, was made attorney-general.

The French, this year, having increaſed the encroachments they had been gradually making on the Britiſh ſubjects in the back-ſettlements of North America, and the court of Verſailles having given only evaſive anſwers to the complaints made on that ſubject, the duke of Newcaſtle in council adviſed vigorous meaſures; in conſequence of which, peremptory orders were ſent to the Britiſh governors and to the commanders of our forces in thoſe parts, to drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohio. Thus the war of 1756 was commenced on our part, by way of repriſals for hoſtilities committed by the French long before, in direct violation of the treaty of peace; but contrary to that general candour and integrity, for which the Britiſh nation has been remarkable in all her tranſactions with foreign powers, the cuſtomary formality of declaring war was unjuſtifiably delayed; and in the autumn of 1755, when France leaſt expected ſuch a blow, a reſolution was taken in council to ſeize all French ſhips, whether merchantmen or men of war, and to bring them into the Britiſh ports. The policy and ſpirit of this meaſure was highly applauded by the nation in general, the people being fired with reſentment at the perfidious conduct of the court of France, in authoriſing hoſtilities and encroachments in North America; but ſtill it was an act of piracy, highly unbecoming the dignity of this nation: while it was complaining of injuſtice, it proceeded to countenance it, by being guilty of the ſame treachery. The trading ſubjects of every country, by the law of nations, ſhould be appriſed of an abſolute rupture between their reſpective ſovereigns, by an open declaration of war. It has been the cuſtom of Europe, as well as the law of all civilized nations, till this bad precedent was made; and though it deprived France of the means of manning their navy, and enriched our people, yet it

can never be juſtified, nor can any advantages derived from it indemnify the nation for the future conſequences of having given ſuch an example to the maritime ſtates of Europe.

The court of Verſailles now perceived their error too late, and began to mediate a reconciliation, by applying to ſeveral neutral powers for that purpoſe; and they even carried on ſuch an appearance of moderation, as to releaſe an Engliſh frigate taken by one of their men of war, having on board Mr. Lyttleton, governor of Carolina, who was going to his government; at the ſame time, however, they made every neceſſary preparation for war, and lined their coaſt oppoſite England with troops and tranſports, as if they meditated an invaſion. The Britiſh miniſtry, on their part, exerted themſelves with uncommon ardour and diſpatch, ſending fleets and armies to all our ſettlements in Aſia and America, and forming alliances and ſubſidiary treaties with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and the empreſs of Ruſſia.

On the 13th of November the parliament met, when the treaty with Heſſe Caſſel for troops, intended to be employed for the defence of Hanover, was warmly and juſtly oppoſed in the houſe of Lords by the earl Temple and others, as involving the nation in a continental quarrel and expence for the defence of the king's dominions, not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; but the treaty was, in the end, approved by a great majority. In the lower houſe, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge oppoſed the the treaty with maſterly arguments; and Sir Thomas Robinſon, on whom the miniſter relied for its defence in that houſe, was ſaid to want ability, and was indeed embarraſſed, by being engaged in a bad cauſe; and therefore he was removed, though the motion for approving the treaty, by an addreſs of thanks, was carried by a great majority.

Mr. Fox ſucceeded Sir Thomas Robinſon: Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, diſguſted at theſe foreign treaties, and the alteration in the miniſtry, reſigned; and many of Mr.

Mr. Fox's friends being introduced into different departments of the government, this was called the new adminiſtration, with Mr. Fox at their head. However, the controuling direction of public affairs, both at home and abroad, was pretty equally divided between the duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Fox, to whom the lord chancellor was occaſionally joined as a co-adjutor; the reſt of the members of this adminiſtration were merely oſtenſible miniſters. And now a ſucceſſion of miſmanagement, of blunders, and of misfortunes, diſgraced the nation, and ſtirred up a general indignation againſt the duke and Mr. Fox. Informations had been ſent from general Blakeney to Mr. Fox, of the deſign of the French to attack Minorca, ſo early as the 7th of February, 1756; and adviſing the miniſtry to ſend him ſuch aſſiſtance, as might enable him to put that iſland in a proper ſtate of defence with all ſpeed. Theſe hints they totally diſregarded, being ſo deſtitute of good intelligence from France, that they believed all the preparations of that court were deſtined for the invaſion of Great Britain; and, under colour of protecting the kingdom againſt this idle project, they adviſed his majeſty to ſend for a body of Heſſian troops; and in a few days after, Mr. Fox moved the houſe of commons for an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty to ſend for twelve battalions of his electoral troops; which was carried, but not without great oppoſition; and ſuch expedition was uſed, that, before the end of May, both the Heſſians and the Hanoverians arrived, and were encamped in different parts of England. The people, in general, were highly exaſperated to ſee Great Britain reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, as to be obliged to commit the cuſtody of their lives and fortunes to foreign auxiliaries; while a ſcheme for raiſing a national militia, brought into the houſe early in the ſeſſion by Mr. Charles Townſhend, had been rejected. By this time, certain advice was received from France, that the Toulon fleet was deſtined for Mi-

norca; but the miniſtry were ſtill ignorant of its force. However, a fleet was prepared, and ſet ſail from Spithead on the 7th of April, under the command of admiral Byng, having on board a regiment of foot for Gibraltar, and reinforcements for the garriſon of Minorca; but, owing to contrary winds and calms, his fleet did not arrive at Gibraltar till the 2d of May; and there he was informed that the French had already gained poſſeſſion of all Minorca, except the caſtle of St. Philip; and that the Toulon ſquadron conſiſted of twelve ſhips of the line, inſtead of eight, which was all it was ſaid by the miniſtry, they could poſſibly put to ſea; and therefore they gave admiral Byng only ten. The event of his unfortunate expedition is too well known to require a recital; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the loſs of Minorca was wholly imputed, by the ſenſible part of the nation, to the neglect of the miniſtry; and the ſacrifice of the unfortunate admiral, intended to appeaſe the popular clamour, only ſerved to increaſe it.

Inſtructions were ſent by a great number of corporations to their repreſentatives, againſt the next ſeſſion of parliament, requiring them to promote a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the cauſes of the miſcarriages of the war, and into the application of the large ſums granted in the laſt ſeſſion; they were likewiſe enjoined to bring in a bill for the eſtabliſhment of a regular militia, that the nation might not be indebted for her ſafety, on any extraordinary emergency, to foreign mercenaries. It was impoſſible to accompliſh theſe deſigns without a change of the miniſtry; and therefore addreſſes, complaining of the miſmanagement of public affairs, were promoted in all parts of the kingdom, and a great many were carried up to the throne; and perſons of all ranks publicly expreſſing their wiſhes to ſee the direction of affairs in other hands, his majeſty deſired the duke of Newcaſtle to reſign for the preſent, that he might be enabled to gratify the views of thoſe perſons

ſons in oppoſition, who offered to take the reins of government on condition only that the friends they ſhould nominate might be brought in with them; aſſuring his grace, at the ſame time, that he ſhould be re-inſtated as ſoon as an opportunity ſhould ariſe to propoſe a coalition of parties. Agreeably to this plan, the duke of Newcaſtle retired; and the duke of Devonſhire was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury; Mr. Legge was reſtored to his former poſt of chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Sir George Lyttleton; the earl Temple was made firſt lord of the admiralty, inſtead of lord Anſon; and Mr. Fox reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate to Mr. Pitt, the idol of the people, and that gentleman ſtipulated for the removal of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who, with a view of aggrandiſing his family, had lately taken too great a ſhare in the politics of the cabinet.

The firſt object of the new miniſtry was to adviſe the king to ſend back the Hanoverian troops; the next was, to form a plan for purſuing more vigorous meaſures in the conduct of the war; and the third, to carry the militia-bill into a law; all which they effected between the month of November 1756, when they came into power, and the month of January 1757. An oppoſition, however, was formed to this conſtitutional act without doors; and though all parts of the kingdom had ſent up addreſſes to the throne, and inſtructions to the members of parliament to obtain a militia, while the German troops were in the kingdom; yet a few diſcontented men, amongſt the late diſcarded miniſtry, ſoon ſtirred up a diſlike to this military ſervice, amongſt the lower and middling claſſes of the people: the farmers were made to believe, that they would be deprived of their ſervants, and a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that the militia-men would be ſent out of the kingdom, either to Germany to fight the battles of foreign princes, or to America to defend the colonies. The late chancellor and his adherents were ſtrongly

ſtrongly ſuſpected to be the fomenters of this diſturbance; but, happily for the nation, thoſe who had propoſed this law had the reſolution and ability to carry it into execution, in defiance of all oppoſition. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that this act was not framed as it ought to have been, and that the militia was placed by it too much in the power of the crown.

But though the party againſt adminiſtration could not prevail to prevent this popular act, they had ſuch influence in the council and the ſenate, that, to the ſurpriſe of the whole nation, they found means to turn them out of office, in the midſt of their aſſiduous endeavours to reſtore the honour and credit of the nation, to leſſen the public expence, by reducing the enormous ſalaries of the great officers, and by aboliſhing a number of uſeleſs places. Accordingly, the king demanded the ſeals of Mr. Pitt in April; the next day Mr. Legge reſigned, and with him earl Temple. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was now put into the hands of lord Mansfield *pro tempore*, and the nation was in a general alarm. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge received addreſſes of thanks from the city of London, with their freedom in gold boxes, as an honorary reward for their integrity and wiſdom during their ſhort adminiſtration; and both the king and the new miniſtry ſaw the impoſſibility of carrying on the war, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, without them.

With a noble zeal for the honour of his ſovereign, and the good of his country, lord Mansfield with great diligence endeavoured to reconcile the chiefs of the contending parties, and, by a general coalition, to ſettle a permanent miniſtry, not liable to be harraſſed by oppoſition. His deſign took effect; a compromiſe was made; ſome of each party were taken into the public ſervice, and the following arrangement gave univerſal ſatisfaction.

The duke of Newcaſtle was reſtored to his office of firſt lord of the treaſury; Mr. Legge was re-inſtated chancellor

chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pitt was appointed principal ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern provinces, and was conſidered as the miniſter; lord Temple was made lord privy-ſeal; lord Anſon preſided again at the head of the admiralty; and Mr. Fox was appointed paymaſter-general; Sir Robert Henley, of Mr. Fox's party, was made keeper of the great ſeal; and the inferior offices of ſtate were equally diſtributed amongſt the friends of the duke of Newcaſtle, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, the three political commanders in chief. This deſirable event took place the latter end of June 1757.

All animoſities now ceaſed; former miſtakes were buried in oblivion; each department of adminiſtration exerted itſelf ſolely for the public good; which happy diſpoſition produced the moſt glorious effects; and thus the duke of Newcaſtle had the unſpeakable ſatisfaction to be reſtored to adminiſtration, in time to ſhare the honours and applauſe which were beſtowed by a grateful people, on a miniſtry whoſe unanimity, wiſdom, and ſpirit, joined to the valour of our forces by ſea and land, raiſed this country to the higheſt pitch of human glory, between this period and the year 1762, when a total change of the miniſtry took place, through the influence of the earl of Bute, who, upon Mr. Pitt's reſignation in 1761, was made principal ſecretary of ſtate; and from the moment he came into power, had reſolved, under the pretext of aboliſhing the party diſtinctions of Whig and Tory, abſurdly to procure the diſmiſſion from the royal ſervice of the warmeſt friends of the houſe of Hanover; a meaſure which produced the utmoſt diſtraction in all the departments of the ſtate, by the removals it occaſioned, rendered it impoſſible to carry on the war with the ſame vigour and ſucceſs that had conſtantly attended it during the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, and occaſioned a precipitated inglorious peace, inadequate in moſt reſpects, to the ſucceſſes of the war, and the dignity of the crown.

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The new favourite artfully remained in the trifling poſt of groom of the ſtole, from the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty in 1760, till he found an opportunity of putting in practice the old Machiavelian maxim, "Di-"vide and rule." For this purpoſe he employed two years in ſtudying Mr. Pitt's character; and finding that the foible of that miniſter was impetuoſity of temper, he ſtrengthened his own intereſt in the cabinet, and obtained a full determination againſt Mr. Pitt on the affair of declaring war againſt Spain in 1761, upon certain intelligence he had received of the intentions of the court of Madrid to aſſiſt France. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge both reſigned upon this occaſion, and then the only obſtacle to the poſſeſſion of that plenitude of power the earl of Bute aimed at was the duke of Newcaſtle. By his early zeal in favour of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; by his liberality in the public uſe he had made of a large fortune; by a ſucceſſion of great offices in the ſtate, he had been enabled to to confer on ſome of the firſt families in the kingdom; he had attached a powerful party to his intereſt in the council, in parliament, and in the kingdom at large. In a word, he was conſidered as the head of the Whigs, and he was beloved by the people for his magnificence, affability, and perſonal diſintereſtedneſs. It was therefore a bold undertaking to attempt the overthrow of this old ſervant, and faithful friend to the royal family: but ambition levels all obſtructions.

During a great part of the laſt reign, the duke, his family, and friends, had enjoyed the confidence of the ſovereign, and the chief direction of public affairs. But his advanced age, and his ſituation, had prevented his having any opportunity to cultivate a perſonal intereſt with his preſent majeſty. His continuance at the head of the treaſury, after the acceſſion, was therefore extremely precarious, becauſe he did not poſſeſs the royal confidence; and the perſon who had it, conſidering that department as the chief ſeat of power,

contrived

contrived to tire the patience of the duke, by repeated mortifications, till he was obliged to reſign: and lord Bute was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, who ſoon cleared every department in the ſtate of the friends of the duke of Newcaſtle. His animoſity, or want of political abilities, however, proved the bane of his own power; and his ſhort-lived adminiſtration, which laſted little more than a year, was marked with violence and injuſtice. Even clerks in office, whoſe ſalaries did not exceed 50l. per annum, were turned out of their employments, and left deſtitute of all proviſion, without ſo much as the ſhadow of any charge againſt them. This conduct, and the popular diſapprobation of the peace, forced him to retire from all public buſineſs towards the cloſe of the year 1763; and the Whigs ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity to revive the diſtinction between them and the Tories with as much heat as ever, lord Bute having introduced and ſupported in power many of the avowed enemies to the Hanover family, and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in that illuſtrious houſe.

In the year 1765, when the Rockingham adminiſtration was formed by the late duke of Cumberland, his royal highneſs adviſed them to ſtrengthen their intereſt, by taking in the duke of Newcaſtle; his grace was accordingly appointed lord privy ſeal, which he reſigned the following year to his old colleague in office, the earl of Chatham.

His grace now reſolved to quit the court, and all public buſineſs; upon which occaſion his Majeſty offered him a penſion; but though he had greatly injured his private fortune, by devoting great part of an income of 50,000l. per annum to the eſtabliſhment of George I. he nobly refuſed to diſgrace his birth and character, and ſcorned to become a burden either to the king or to the nation, by taking a penſion. His grace paſſed the remainder of his days in retirement, enjoying the company of his numerous friends, and the

the ſatisfaction of being conſidered as the moſt diſintereſted patriot of the preſent age.

In the year 1768, his health began viſibly to decline, and he was ſoon thought to be in great danger; as his end approached, his attention to his devotion was conſtant and fervent, ſuitable to that unfeigned piety for which he had been diſtinguiſhed throughout life. On the 17th of November, in the morning, he deſired to receive the ſacrament, which was adminiſtered to him by the biſhop of Saliſbury; and in a few hours after he paid the debt of nature.

His grace dying without iſſue, the title of duke of Newcaſtle upon Tyne became extinct; but that of Newcaſtle under Line, conferred upon him in 1756, with remainder in the female line, devolved to the preſent duke, who married Mr. Henry Pelham's eldeſt daughter.

MEMOIRS OF

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

[A. D. 1694 to 1773.]

FEW characters, within the memory of the preſent generation, have been more admired than that of the celebrated nobleman of whom we are now to give conciſe memoirs. His lordſhip was deſcended from a family of great antiquity, and his father married a daughter of the celebrated marquis of Halifax. He was the eldeſt of four ſons, and born in London, on the 22d of September 1694.

At the age of eighteen he was ſent to Cambridge, where he remained two years. By his lordſhip's own account in his writings, his knowledge about this time was

was chiefly confined to ſcholaſtic learning, in which he had made a conſiderable progreſs; but in polite literature he eſteemed himſelf deficient. "When he talked beſt, he quoted Horace; when he aimed at being facetious, he quoted Martial: and when he had a mind to be a fine gentleman, he talked Ovid. He was convinced that none but the ancients had common ſenſe, and that the claſſics contained every thing that was either neceſſary, uſeful, or ornamental." In the firſt parliament of George I. lord Stanhope, as he was now ſtyled, was elected a burgeſs for St. Germaine in Cornwall, and in the next, for Leſtwithiel in the ſame county. He tells us, "that he ſpoke in parliament the firſt month he was in it, and from the day he was elected to the day he ſpoke, thought and dreamed of nothing but ſpeaking."

By a few months reſidence at the Hague, in the interval between his leaving the univerſity and the meeting of parliament, he had worn off the ruſt of college pedentary. Frequenting the court, introducing himſelf into the beſt company, attentively ſtudying, and imitating the free unaffected air, manners, and converſation of people of the firſt diſtinction, and amongſt theſe, of ſuch as were remarkable for their politeneſs, were the means he made uſe of to familiariſe himſelf to the great world. To a ſtrong deſire of pleaſing, he added a fund of good-humour, and great vivacity. With theſe qualifications he entered the ſenate-houſe; and it was ſoon diſcovered that he poſſeſſed talents to render him conſpicuous; for his eloquence was maſterly, his ſentiments patriotic, and his addreſs peculiarly engaging.

On patriotic principles he eſpouſed the cauſe of George I. and ſtood foremoſt in the ranks of thoſe loyal ſubjects, who tendered their lives and fortunes in ſupport of his perſon and government againſt the deſigns of the pretender and his adherents. Such conduct, and ſuch talents, could not remain unnoticed by

the court; and the firſt mark of royal favour conferred upon him, ſufficiently demonſtrated that the king had a moſt favourable opinion of his abilities; for he was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. In this ſtation he continued after a diſagreement had ariſen between the king and the prince in the year 1717; and, the prince retaining him in his ſervice, after his royal highneſs had been forbidden the court, lord Stanhope did not receive any further token of the king's eſteem, till 1723, when he was appointed captain of the yeomen of the guard. In 1726, he ſucceeded to the title and peerage of earl of Cheſterfield, on the demiſe of his father; and in the courſe of the following year, ſoon after the acceſſion of George II. he was ſworn in one of his majeſty's privy-council.

In the year 1728, his lordſhip was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates-general, which high ſtation he ſupported with the greateſt dignity; and being veſted with plenipotentiary powers, he carried on, and accompliſhed, important negociations equally beneficial to his own country, and ſatisfactory to the ſtates-general; who, during the two years he reſided at their court, held him in the higheſt eſteem, and manifeſted their regard to his perſon, as well sa his character, by every mark of reſpect and attention in their power.

Upon his return to England in 1730, he was elected a knight companion of the noble order of the garter, and appointed ſteward of the houſehold; and the ſame year he went back to the Hague with his former character. The following winter, in conſequence of ſome miſrepreſentation of his conduct as lord ſteward of the houſehold, ſoon after his return from the Hague, a miſunderſtanding aroſe between his lordſhip and the king, which ended in his reſignation of that office; and he retired to his country-ſeat in Derbyſhire. But when the parliament ſat, he conſtantly attended his duty, and though for the preſent he gave up all thoughts of further

ther promotion at court, he did not enter into any party, nor oppoſe the meaſures of adminiſtration, except when he was clearly convinced that they militated againſt the honour and intereſt of his country.

About the ſame time, his lordſhip married lady Meloſina de Schulenberg, counteſs of Walſingham, the natural daughter of George I. by the ducheſs of Kendal and Munſter.

In the ſeſſion of parliament in 1753, his lordſhip diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the active part he took in all the important buſineſs of that intereſting period. In a warm debate, he oppoſed the reduction of the army: he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the exciſe-bill; he ſupported the motion for ordering the directors of the South Sea Company to deliver in an account of the diſpoſal of the forfeited eſtates of the infamous directors in 1720; and, upon the failure of another motion, to appoint a committee to examine into the management of the affairs of that company ever ſince the year 1720, he drew up and entered a ſpirited proteſt, which was ſigned by ſeveral other lords.

In the ſpring of the year 1734, the duke of Marlborough brought a bill into the houſe of peers, to prevent officers of the army being deprived of their commiſſions otherwiſe than by a ſentence of a court martial; at the ſame time, the duke moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, to know who adviſed him to deprive the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham of their regiments, for having voted in parliament againſt the meaſures of the miniſtry. Lord Cheſterfield warmly ſeconded the motion, and ſupported the bill; but they were both rejected by a great majority. In the following ſeſſion, he took the part of the ſix Scotch noblemen who preſented a petition to the houſe of peers, complaining of an undue election of the ſixteen peers to ſit in parliament, and maintained their claim with uncommon ſpirit.

In 1737, lord Cheſterfield gave great diſguſt to the

court, by a maſterly ſpeech in favour of the motion to addreſs his majeſty to ſettle 100,000l. per annum on his royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales; and upon its failure, he entered his proteſt. But his moſt remarkable ſpeech in this ſeſſion was againſt the bill for ſubjecting plays to the inſpection and licence of the lord chamberlain. Upon this occaſion, his lordſhip diſplayed all the powers of oratory, though without ſucceſs. He juſtly conſidered it as a reſtraint upon the liberty of the preſs, and a violation of the rights of the ſubject. The compoſition of this ſpeech has been highly extolled as the ſtandard of a correct ſtyle, and of maſterly eloquence; for which reaſon it has been copied into ſuch memoirs of his life as are extant, and we ſhall alſo inſert it.

It is neceſſary to premiſe, that the bill was brought into the lower houſe by Sir Robert Walpole, who had gotten into his poſſeſſion the manuſcript of a comedy deſigned for the ſtage, which was replete with the bittereſt ſarcaſms upon adminiſtration. The bill was calculated to prevent all perſonal ſatire againſt men in power for the future, and it was well contrived for the purpoſe, to ſubject all new pieces to a licence from an officer of the court, who, *ex officio*, muſt be in the intereſt of the miniſter. It paſſed in the lower houſe by a majority of two to one; and in the upper houſe, upon the motion for committing it, after ſpeaking of the precipitancy with which the bill had paſſed the houſe of commons, and of its being puſhed into an empty houſe of lords, at the end of a ſeſſion, his lordſhip thus proceeds:

"I have gathered from common talk while this bill was moving in the lower houſe, that a play was offered to the theatre, in order to be exhibited, which, if my account be right, was truly of a moſt ſcandalous and flagitious nature. What was the effect? Why, the manager, to whom it was offered, not only refuſed to act it, but carried it to a certain perſon in the adminiſtration, as a ſure method to have it ſuppreſſed. Could this

be

be the occaſion of the bill? Surely no. The caution of the players could never occaſion a law to reſtrain them; it is an argument in their favour, and a very material one, in my opinion, againſt the bill. It is to me a proof, that the laws are not only ſufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend, but alſo to puniſh them in caſe they ſhould do it.

"My lords, I muſt own, I have obſerved of late a remarkable licentiouſneſs on the ſtage. There were two plays acted laſt winter (Paſquin and Charles I.) that one would have thought ſhould have given the greateſt offence, and yet they were ſuffered without any cenſure whatever. In one of theſe plays, the author thought fit to repreſent religion, phyſic, and the law, as inconſiſtent with common ſenſe. The other was founded on a ſtory, very unfit for theatrical entertainment at this time of day; a ſtory ſo recent in the minds of Engliſhmen, and of ſo ſolemn a nature, that it ought to be touched upon only in the pulpit. The ſtage may want regulation, the ſtage may have it; and yet be kept within bounds, without a new law for that purpoſe.

"Every unneceſſary reſtraint on licentiouſneſs is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle on the hands of Liberty. One of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, one of the greateſt bleſſings a people can enjoy, is liberty,—but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiouſneſs is the alloy of liberty; it is an ebullition, an excreſcence; it is a ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, leſt I deſtroy the body, leſt I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the ſtage becomes at any time licentious; if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open, the laws are ſufficient for puniſhing the offender, and, in this caſe, the perſon injured has a ſingular advantage; he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publiſher, and there can be no want of evidence to convict him. But, my lords,

ſuppoſe it true, that the laws now in being are not ſufficient for putting a check to or preventing the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; ſuppoſe it abſolutely neceſſary ſome new laws ſhould be made for that purpoſe; yet it muſt be granted, that ſuch a law ought to be maturely conſidered, and every clauſe, every ſentence, nay every word of it, well weighed and examined; leſt, under ſome of thoſe methods preſumed or pretended to be neceſſary for reſtraining licentiouſneſs, a power ſhould lie concealed, which might be afterwards made uſe of for giving a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a law ought not to be introduced at the cloſe of a ſeſſion; nor ought we, in the paſſing of ſuch a law, to depart from any of the forms preſcribed by our anceſtors for preventing deceit and ſurpriſe. There is ſuch a connection between licentiouſneſs and liberty, that it is not eaſy to correct the one, without dangerouſly wounding the other. It is extremely hard to diſtinguiſh the true limit between them. Like a changeable ſilk, we can eaſily ſee there are two different colours, but we cannot eaſily diſcover where the one ends, or the other begins. There can be no great and immediate danger from the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage. I hope it will not be pretended, that our government may, before next winter, be overturned by ſuch licentiouſneſs, even though our ſtage were at preſent under no ſort of legal controul. Why then may we not delay, till next ſeſſion, paſſing any law againſt the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage? Neither our government can be altered, nor our conſtitution overturned, by ſuch a delay; but by paſſing a law raſhly and unadviſedly, our conſtitution may at once be deſtroyed, and our government rendered arbitrary. Can we then put a ſmall, a ſhort-lived inconvenience, in the balance with perpetual ſlavery? Can it be ſuppoſed, that a parliament of Great Britain will ſo much as riſk the latter, for the ſake of avoiding the former? Surely, my lords, this is not to be expected, were the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage much greater than it is, were the inſufficiency of our laws more ob-

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vious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and of the inſufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reaſon to complain of bad meaſures in our polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public, as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed or cenſured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked meaſures, and to purſue ſuch only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule thoſe they love and eſteem, nor will they ſuffer them to be ridiculed: if any one attempts it, the ridicule returns upon the author; he makes himſelf only the object of public hatred and contempt. The actions or behaviour of a private man may paſs unobſerved, and conſequently unapplauded, uncenſured; but the actions of thoſe in high ſtations can neither paſs without notice, nor without cenſure and applauſe; and therefore an adminiſtration, without eſteem, without authority among the people, let their power be never ſo great, let their power be never ſo arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The ſevereſt edicts, the moſt terrible puniſhments, cannot entirely prevent it.

"If any man therefore thinks he has been cenſured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres; let him examine his actions, he will find the cauſe; let him alter his conduct, he will find a remedy. As no man is perfect, as no man is infallible, the greateſt may err, the moſt circumſpect may be guilty of ſome piece of ridiculous behaviour. It is no licentiouſneſs, it is an uſeful liberty always indulged the ſtage in a free country, that ſome great men may there meet with a juſt reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough to give them. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people, when public meaſures are deſpiſed, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be deſigned as a ſatire on the preſent times. Nay, even though the people ſhould not apply, thoſe who are conſcious of guilt,

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thoſe who are conſcious of the wickedneſs or weakneſs of their own conduct, will take to themſelves what the author never deſigned. A public thief is as apt to take the ſatire, as he is apt to take the money, which was never deſigned him. We have an inſtance of this in the caſe of a famous comedian of the laſt age; a comedian, who was not only a good poet, but an honeſt man, and a quiet and good ſubject. The famous Moliere, when he wrote his Tartuffe, which is certainly an excellent and a good moral comedy, did not deſign to ſatirize any great man of that age; yet a great man in France at that time took it to himſelf, and fancied the author had taken him as a model, for one of the principal, and one of the worſt characters in that comedy. By good luck, he was not the licenſer; otherwiſe the kingdom of France had never had the pleaſure, the happineſs I may ſay, of ſeeing that play acted; but when the players firſt propoſed to act it at Paris, he had intereſt enough to get it forbidden. Moliere, who knew himſelf innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that, as his play was deſigned only to expoſe hypocriſy, and a falſe pretence of religion, it was very hard it ſhould be forbidden being acted, when at the ſame time they were ſuffered to expoſe religion itſelf every night publicly, on the Italian ſtage. To which the prince wittily anſwered, 'It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules 'heaven, and expoſes religion; but you have done 'much worſe; you have ridiculed the firſt miniſter of 'religion.' My lords, the proper buſineſs of the ſtage, and that for which only it is uſeful, is to expoſe thoſe vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; and to recommend thoſe beauties and virtues which miniſters and courtiers ſeldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court-licence too, you will, in my opinion, entirely prevent its uſe; for though I have the greateſt eſteem for that noble duke in whoſe hands this power is at preſent deſigned to fall; though I have an entire confidence

fidence in his judgment and impartiality; yet I may ſuppoſe, that a leaning towards the faſhions of a court is ſometimes hard to be avoided. It may be very difficult to make one who is every day at court believe that to be a vice or a folly, which he ſees daily practiſed by thoſe he loves and eſteems. By cuſtom, even deformity itſelf becomes familiar, and at laſt agreeable.—To ſuch a perſon, let his natural impartiality be never ſo great, that may appear to be a libel againſt the court, which is only a moſt juſt and a moſt neceſſary ſatire upon the faſhionable vices and follies of the court.—Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with any juſt reproof is a free, though not a licentious ſtage; and as every ſort of vice and folly, generally in all countries, begins at court, and from thence ſpreads through the country, by laying the ſtage under an arbitrary court-licence, inſtead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle ſcourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices and follies through the whole kingdom. From hence, my lords, I think it muſt appear, that the bill now before us cannot ſo properly be called a bill for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs, as it may be called a bill for reſtraining the liberty, of the ſtage, and for reſtraining it too in that branch which in all countries has been the moſt uſeful; therefore, I muſt look upon the bill as a moſt dangerous encroachment upon liberty in general. Nay farther, my lords, it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, but it is likewiſe an encroachment upon property.

"Wit, my lords, is a ſort of property of thoſe that have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is indeed but a precarious dependence. Thank God! we, my lords, have a dependence of another kind; we have a much leſs precarious ſupport, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniences of the bill now before us; but it is our duty to encourage and protect

protect wit, whoſoever's property it may be. Thoſe gentlemen who have any ſuch property are all, I hope, our friends: do not let us ſubject them to any unneceſſary or arbitrary reſtraint. I muſt own I cannot eaſily agree to the laying any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed, it is to be exciſed; for, if this bill paſſes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way without a permit; and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief-gauger, ſuperviſor, commiſſioner, judge, and jury. But what is ſtill more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor I ſhould ſay, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a purchaſer; yet before he can propoſe to ſeek for a purchaſer, he muſt patiently ſubmit to have his goods rummaged at this new exciſe-office, where they may be detained for fourteen days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited goods, by which his chief and beſt market will be for ever ſhut againſt him, and that without any cauſe, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, either from the laws of his country, or the laws of the ſtage. Theſe hardſhips, this hazard, which every gentleman will be expoſed to who writes any thing for the ſtage, muſt certainly prevent every man of a generous and free ſpirit from attempting any thing in that way; and as the ſtage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I ſpeak againſt this bill, I muſt think I plead the cauſe of wit, I plead the cauſe of humour, I plead the cauſe of the Britiſh ſtage, and of every gentleman of taſte in the kingdom. But it is not, my lords, for the ſake of wit only; even for the ſake of his majeſty's lord chamberlain, I muſt be againſt this bill. The noble duke, who has now the honour to execute that office, has, I am ſure, as little an inclination to diſoblige as any man; but if this bill paſſes, he muſt diſoblige; he may diſoblige ſome of his moſt intimate friends. It is impoſſible to write a play, but ſome of the characters, or ſome of the ſatire, may be interpreted ſo as to point at ſome perſon or another, perhaps

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at ſome perſon in an eminent ſtation. When it comes to be acted, the people will make the application; and the perſon againſt whom the application is made will think himſelf injured, and will at leaſt privately reſent it. At preſent this reſentment can be directed only againſt the author; but when an author's play appears with my lord chamberlain's paſſport, every ſuch reſentment will be turned from the author, and point directly againſt the lord chamberlain, who by his ſtamp made the piece current. What an unthankful office are we therefore by this bill to put upon his majeſty's lord chamberlain! an office which can no way contribute to his honour or profit, and yet ſuch a one as muſt neceſſarily gain him a great deal of ill-will, and create him a number of enemies. The laſt reaſon I ſhall trouble your lordſhips with, for my being againſt the bill, is, that, in my opinion, it will no way anſwer the end propoſed, I mean the end openly propoſed; and I am ſure the only end which your lordſhips propoſed. To prevent the acting of a play which has any tendency to blaſphemy, immorality, ſedition, or private ſcandal, can ſignify nothing, unleſs you can likewiſe prevent its being printed and publiſhed. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed and publiſhed, you will propagate the miſchief; your prohibition will prove a bellows, which will blow up the fire you intend to extinguiſh. This bill can therefore be of no uſe for preventing either the public or the private injury intended by ſuch a play; and conſequently can be of no manner of uſe, unleſs it be deſigned as a precedent, as a leading ſtep towards another, for ſubjecting the preſs likewiſe to a licenſer: for ſuch a wicked purpoſe, it may indeed be of great uſe; and, in that light, it may moſt properly be called a ſtep towards arbitrary power. Let us conſider, my lords, that arbitrary power has ſeldom or never been introduced into any country at once; it muſt be introduced by ſlow degrees, and as it were ſtep by ſtep, leſt the people ſhould perceive its approach. The

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barriers and fences of the people's liberty muſt be plucked up one by one, and ſome plauſible pretences muſt be found for removing or hood-winking, one after another, thoſe ſentries who are poſted by the conſtitution of every free country, for warning the people of their danger. When theſe preparatory ſteps are once made, the people may then indeed, with regret, ſee ſlavery and arbitrary power making long ſtrides over their land; but it will then be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin. The ſtage, my lords, and the preſs, are two of our out-ſentries; if we remove them, if we hood-wink them, if we throw them into fetters, the enemy may ſurpriſe us. Therefore I muſt look upon the bill now before us as a ſtep, and a moſt neceſſary ſtep too, for introducing arbitrary power into this kingdom. It is a ſtep ſo neceſſary, that if any future ambitious king, or guilty miniſter, ſhould form to himſelf ſo wicked a deſign, he will have reaſon to thank us for having done ſo much of the work to his hand; but ſuch thanks, or thanks from ſuch a man, I am convinced every one of your lordſhips would bluſh to receive, and ſcorn to deſerve." But lord Cheſterfield's eloquence did not prevent the houſe of peers from paſſing this unconſtitutional and pernicious bill.

In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, great complaint was made of the depredations committed by the Spaniards on the Britiſh ſubjects trading to South America. When this affair was before the houſe of lords, the earl of Cheſterfield, with his uſual eloquence and patriotiſm, adviſed the moſt vigorous meaſures to procure ſatisfaction from the court of Madrid; and, conſidering our navy as the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, he voted againſt the propoſed augmentation of the army. The diſpute with Spain being ſettled in 1739, by a convention, which his lordſhip deemed diſhonourable and injurious to his country, he oppoſed the addreſs of thanks to the king, which the miniſtry wanted to puſh through both houſes with precipitation; and he was one of the forty peers who proteſted againſt

againſt it: in the lower houſe it met with a ſtronger mark of diſapprobation, for it occaſioned the famous *ſeceſſion*; that is to ſay, a great number of the members, finding the majority determined, at all events, to paſs the addreſs, retired into the country, and left the remaining buſineſs of the ſeſſion to be tranſacted by the friends of adminiſtration alone; abſolutely refuſing to give any further attendance till the next ſeſſion.

In the winter of the ſame year, it was diſcovered that the patriotic party were in the right; for, advantageous as the convention was to Spain, that court did not adhere to it; and the miniſtry found themſelves under a neceſſity to adviſe a declaration of war. This event brought the oppoſition back to their duty in parliament, and now the earl of Cheſterfield inveighed againſt the miſconduct of adminiſtration in their management of the outſet of the war; and, in particular, for adviſing his majeſty to ſend a meſſage for a ſupply to the lower houſe alone.

In the ſpring of the year 1740, and in the ſame ſeſſion, his lordſhip took the lead in a long and violent debate upon the revival of the penſion-bill; a bill intended to exclude penſioners of the crown from ſeats in the houſe of commons; but all the ſtrength of argument made uſe of upon this occaſion, by the ableſt men in the kingdom, in both houſes of parliament, proved ineffectual, the miniſtry having ſecured a majority to reject the bill.

Upon the meeting of a new parliament, on the 4th of December 1741, two different motions were made for addreſſes to the king on his ſpeech from the throne. The one by the duke of Argyle carried in it oblique reflections on the miniſtry for the tardy ineffectual operations of the fleet againſt Spain: this was ſeconded in a nervous ſpeech by lord Cheſterfield; but the other, propoſed by the earl of Holderneſſe, was paſſed by a majority of twenty-eight votes. In the ſame ſeſſion, he was a ſtrong advocate for the bill to indemnify ſuch

perſons as ſhould give evidence in the courſe of the inquiry into the adminiſtration of the diſcarded miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, then earl of Orford.

On the 16th of November 1742, the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech, acquainting the two houſes, that he had augmented the Britiſh forces in the Low Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians. When this part of the ſpeech came to be debated in the houſe of lords, upon the uſual motion for an addreſs of thanks, the earl of Cheſterfield moved a previous queſtion, for poſtponing the addreſs of thanks; and in the month of February following, upon a motion made for diſmiſſing the Hanoverian troops, he was very warm in its favour; and in the courſe of the debate, he let fall ſome expreſſions concerning the king's electoral dominions, which his majeſty highly reſented.

Towards the end of the ſame month, the bill for repealing the heavy duties that had been laid on ſpirituous liquors, and licences for retailing thoſe liquors, and for impoſing others at an eaſy rate (by ſome writers falſely called the gin-act, whereas it was a repeal of that act), met with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of lords; but the miniſtry found no other expedient for increaſing the public revenues, but by facilitating the conſumption of ſpirituous liquors. Lord Cheſterfield upon this occaſion, to his uſual force of reaſoning, added the poignancy of ſatire, which he always had ready at command; amongſt other things, he ſaid that the miniſtry ſhould be celebrated as the authors of the *drinking fund*; and there being ten biſhops in the houſe, who all divided againſt the bill, his lordſhip, on their coming over to his ſide of the houſe, wittily told them, he was afraid he had miſtaken his place, not having had the honour of their company for many years.

Lord Cheſterfield continued in oppoſition to the chief meaſures of adminiſtration reſpecting the war, but more particularly againſt the employment of the Hanoverian forces, in the ſeſſion of parliament which began on the

ſt of December 1743; and in the month of April 1744, when it was certain that an invaſion by the pretender was in great forwardneſs, the commons paſſed a bill for inflicting the penalties of high treaſon upon thoſe who ſhould maintain a correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. When this bill came into the houſe of peers, the lord chancellor Hardwicke moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted for continuing the penalty of treaſon upon the poſterity of thoſe who ſhould be convicted of ſuch correſpondence: here lord Cheſterfield appeared to be the friend of humanity; he argued againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, expoſed it as an unworthy, illiberal expedient, repugnant to the precepts of religion, to the law of nations, and to the rules of common juſtice; and tending to involve the innocent with the guilty: the clauſe however was inſerted; and being ſent back to the lower houſe with this amendment, it was carried, after a long debate, in which Mr. Pitt, and ſome other members who had countenanced the original bill, voted againſt it.

At the cloſe of this year, upon a change in the miniſtry, ſome of lord Cheſterfield's friends urged the king to lay aſide all animoſity, out of regard to his great abilities, which were now wanted for his majeſty's ſervice, in a ſtation which he had formerly filled with ſo much honour. Accordingly his majeſty was pleaſed once more to nominate the earl his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the ſtates-general; and he embarked for the Hague on the 11th of January 1745. The object of his negociation was, to engage the Dutch to enter heartily into the war, and to furniſh their quota of troops and ſhipping. The abbé de la Ville, on the part of France, was to prevent the Dutch from liſtening to theſe propoſals; conſequently the two miniſters could not viſit, but meeting accidentally in company, he deſired a friend to introduce him to the abbé, to whom he paid this polite compliment, "Though we are national enemies, I flatter

myſelf we may be perſonal friends." By this engaging addreſs, he eſtabliſhed an eaſy intercourſe between them wherever they met. Having carried his point, he left the Hague, and arrived in London in May, bringing with him a letter from their high mightineſſes to the king, in which they highly extolled the ambaſſador; and his majeſty being early informed of the proſpect of his ſucceeding in this important affair, had nominated him, in his abſence, lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a reward for this ſervice.

Soon after his return home, it was thought expedient that he ſhould go over to his new government, the court having received certain intelligence of the great preparations making on the coaſt of France to invade either Great Britain or Ireland. His adminiſtration in that country is to this hour a ſubject of grateful remembrance by the inhabitants; and it gave ſuch general ſatisfaction at that critical juncture, that moſt of the counties and chief cities exceeded the warmeſt expectations of the miniſtry at home, by entering into voluntary aſſociations for the ſupport of his majeſty's perſon and government, againſt the deſigns of the pretender. In April 1746, he left Ireland, to the general regret of the whole nation, having had the addreſs to make himſelf equally eſteemed by the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants.

On the 29th of October this year, he ſucceeded the earl of Harrington in the office of one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and he held the ſeals till February 1748; when his health being greatly impaired, and his inclination for a private life gaining the aſcendency over the lures of ambition, he waited on the king, and deſired leave to reſign; his majeſty granted his requeſt in theſe words: "I will not preſs you, my lord, to continue in an office you are tired of, but I muſt inſiſt on ſeeing you often, for you will ever live in my eſteem." His lordſhip then went to Bath, for the recovery of his health; and on his return to town in the winter,

winter, he deſcribed the manner of life to which he intended to devote himſelf for the future, in the following lines, which he ordered to be affixed on the moſt conſpicuous part of his library.

Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno & inertibus horis
Ducere ſolicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.

Being ſeized with a deafneſs in the year 1752, which, to uſe his own words, "cut him off from ſociety, at an age when he had no pleaſures but thoſe left," he made his eyes ſupply the defect of his ears, by amuſing himſelf with his pen and his books; and at this time he contributed largely to the admired papers, intituled "The WORLD," conducted and publiſhed by Mr. Edward Moore and his literary aſſociates.

His Lordſhip had no iſſue by his lady, but he had a natural ſon by Madame du Bouchet, a French lady, with whom he carried on a criminal intercourſe for ſome years, chiefly during his reſidence at the Hague. This ſon, whoſe name was Philip Stanhope, as he grew up, became the chief object of his attention; and one cauſe of his lordſhip's reſignation of all public employments was, that he might have the more leiſure to correſpond with him while he was on his travels. He could not leave his real eſtate to this youth, on account of his illegitimacy, and therefore he adhered to a plan of ſtrict economy, in order to raiſe him a fortune.

The great pains he took to cultivate and improve his mind, and to form his manners, had not the deſired effect; however, his lordſhip had intereſt to procure him the honourable employment of Britiſh reſident at the court of Dreſden; but all his labour and concern for this young gentleman became fruitleſs by his premature death in 1768. Lord Cheſterfield could not get over this ſevere blow, but from this time grew feeble and languid: yet thoſe flaſhes of wit and humour for which he has been celebrated by all who knew him,

at times broke forth from the clouds of melancholy in which he ſeemed enveloped. His old friend Sir Thomas Robinſon, who was above ſix feet high, telling him one day, that if he did not go abroad and take exerciſe, he would die by inches; the earl drolly replied, "If that muſt be the caſe, then I am very glad I am not ſo tall as you, Sir Thomas."

About the latter end of the year 1772, his ſon's widow was ordered to viſit him, and to bring with her his two grandſons. His lordſhip, upon this occaſion, laid aſide his crutch, with which he uſed to ſupport himſelf, being then very lame, and attempted to advance to embrace the children; but he was no longer able to ſtand alone, and would have fallen, if a ſervant had not inſtantly ſuccoured him. This affected him much; but preſently recollecting himſelf, he ſaid, ſmiling,—"This is a freſh proof of my declenſion, I am not able to crawl without my three legs; the laſt part of the Sphynx's riddle approaches, and I ſhall ſoon end as I began, upon all fours."

His prediction was but too ſoon verified, for he loſt the uſe of his limbs in a ſhort time after; but he retained his ſenſes almoſt to the laſt hour of his life. His lordſhip died on the 24th of March 1773.

His lordſhip's character is almoſt undefinable; he was certainly one of the greateſt wits of the preſent age; but his flatterers have given him more reputation than any one man ever acquired for this talent. In his political character, he was a patriot upon principle; yet the luſt of power made him either lull aſleep, or ſometimes forget, thoſe principles when in office. His public excellence lay chiefly in being an able negociator. But his politeneſs, affability, and knowledge of the human heart, made him univerſally admired, and gave him the key to the ſecrets, as well as to the foibles, of both ſexes. In ſhort, his amiable accompliſhments rendered him the moſt fit perſon upon earth for an ambaſſador, or a viceroy. His talents for oratory acquired him the

title

title of the Britiſh Cicero; and his taſte for learning and the polite arts, together with occaſional liberalities to the profeſſors, gained him that of the Mæcenas of this country. But when we have allowed that he was the accompliſhed courtier, the perfect gentleman, and the able ſenator, we could wiſh to cloſe the ſcene; for the remaining part of his character does no honour to his memory. However, we are in duty bound to obſerve, that this admired nobleman did not pay a proper regard to thoſe private obligations between man and man in ſociety, which are the bonds of its happineſs and tranquillity; his failure in theſe points of morality was conſpicuous in his conduct in private life; and his letters to his ſon, which were publiſhed by that gentleman's widow after his lordſhip's death, and have been read with avidity by almoſt all ranks of people, are a ratification of his immoral principles and practices; and his will, made at the cloſe of his life, is a ſtrong proof that his faculties had been for ſome time on the decline; for it is inconſiſtent, partial, and peeviſh, containing but one clauſe to diſtinguiſh it as the work of a man of genius, which is the following:

"Satiated with the pompous follies of this life, of which I have had an uncommon ſhare, I would have no poſthumous ones diſplayed at my funeral, and therefore deſire to be buried in the next burying-place to the place where I ſhall die." This order was punctually obeyed, for he was buried privately in the vault under South Audley chapel, being the neareſt burying place to Cheſterfield-houſe, where he died.

*** *Authorities.* Dodſley's Annual Regiſter, 1774. Supplement to the Univerſal Magazine, Vol. LIV. Mortimer's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF

GEORGE, LORD LYTTELTON.

[A. D. 1708, to 1773.]

THIS celebrated nobleman claimed deſcent from one of the moſt ancient families in this kingdom. His anceſtors had poſſeſſions in the vale of Eveſham, Worceſterſhire, in the reign of Henry III. particularly at South Lyttelton, from which place ſome antiquarians have aſſerted they took their name. There were two grants of land belonging to Eveſham Abbey, in the poſſeſſion of the late learned Mr. Selden, to which one John de Lyttelton was witneſs in the year 1160. The great judge Lyttelton, in the reign of Henry IV. was one of this family; and from him deſcended Sir Thomas Lyttelton, father of the late peer, who was appointed a lord of the admiralty in the year 1727; which poſt he reſigned many years afterwards, on account of the bad ſtate of his health.

This gentleman married Chriſtian, daughter of Sir Richard Temple, ſiſter of the late lord viſcount Cobham, and maid of honour to queen Anne, by whom he had ſix ſons and ſix daughters, the eldeſt of whom was George, afterwards created Lord Lyttelton, who was born at Hagley in Worceſterſhire, one of the moſt beautiful rural retirements in this kingdom, in the year 1708.

He received the elements of his education at Eton ſchool, where he ſhewed an early inclination to poetry. His paſtorals, and ſome other light pieces, were originally written in that ſeminary of learning, from whence he was removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he purſued his claſſical ſtudies with uncommon avidity, and ſketched the plan of his Perſian Letters, a work which afterwards procured him great reputation, not only

only from the elegance of the language in which they were compoſed, but from the excellent obſervations they contained on the manners of mankind.

In the year 1728, he ſet out on the tour of Europe, and, on his arrival at Paris, accidentally became acquainted with the honourable Mr. Poyntz, then our miniſter at the court of Verſailles, who was ſo ſtruck at the extraordinary capacity of our young traveller, that he invited him to his houſe, and employed him in many political negociations, which he executed with great judgment and fidelity.

The good opinion Mr. Poyntz entertained of Mr. Lyttelton's character and abilities, is teſtified in a letter under his own hand to his father, in which he expreſſes himſelf as follows:

To Sir THOMAS LYTTELTON, Bart.

"SIR,

"I received your two kind letters, in which you are pleaſed very much to over-value the ſmall civilities it has lain in my power to ſhew Mr. Lyttelton. I have more reaſon to thank you, Sir, for giving me ſo convincing a mark of your regard, as to interrupt the courſe of his travels on my account, which will lay me under a double obligation to do all I can towards making his ſtay agreeable and uſeful to him; though I ſhall ſtill remain the greater gainer by the pleaſure of his company, which no ſervices of mine can ſufficiently requite. He is now in the ſame houſe with me, and by that means more conſtantly under my eye than even at Soiſſons; but I ſhould be very unjuſt to him, if I left you under the imagination, that his inclinations ſtand in the leaſt need of any ſuch ungenerous reſtraint: depend upon it, Sir, from the obſervation of one who would abhor to deceive a father in ſo tender a point, that he retains the ſame virtuous and ſtudious diſpoſitions, which nature and your care planted in him, only ſtrengthened and improved by age and experience;

perience; ſo that, I dare promiſe you, the bad examples of Paris, or any other place, will never have any other effect upon him, but to confirm him in the right choice he has made. Under theſe happy circumſtances, he can have little occaſion for any other advice, but that of ſuſtaining the character he has ſo early got, and of ſupporting the hopes he has raiſed. I wiſh it were in my power to do him any part of the ſervice you ſuppoſe me capable of. I ſhall not be wanting to employ him as occaſion offers, and to aſſiſt him with my advice where it may be neceſſary, though your cares (which he ever mentions with the greateſt gratitude) have made this taſk very eaſy. He cannot fail of making you and himſelf happy, and of being a great ornament to our country, if, with that refined taſte and delicacy of genius, he can but recal his mind, at a proper age, from the pleaſures of learning, and gay ſcenes of imagination, to the dull road and fatigue of buſineſs. This I have ſometimes taken the liberty to hint to him, though his own good judgment made it very unneceſſary. Though I have only the happineſs of knowing you, Sir, by your reputation, and by this common object of our friendſhip and affection, your ſon, I beg you will be perſuaded that I am, with the moſt particular reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble

and obedient ſervant,

S. POYNTZ."

Mr. Lyttelton's conduct, while on his travels, was a leſſon of inſtruction to the reſt of his countrymen.—Inſtead of lounging away his hours at the coffee-houſes frequented by the Engliſh, and adopting the faſhionable follies and vices of France and Italy, his time was paſſed alternately in his library, and in the ſociety of men of rank and literature. In this early part of his life, he wrote a poetical epiſtle to Dr. Ayſcough, and another

another to Mr. Pope, which ſhew ſingular taſte and correctneſs.

After continuing a conſiderable time at Paris with Mr. Poyntz, who, to uſe his own words, behaved like a ſecond father to him, he proceeded to Lyons and Geneva, and from thence to Turin, where he was honoured with great marks of friendſhip by his Sardinian majeſty. He then viſited Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Rome, where he applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the fine arts, and was, even in that celebrated metropolis, allowed to be a perfect judge of painting, ſculpture, and architecture.

During his continuance abroad, he conſtantly correſponded with Sir Thomas, his father; ſeveral of his letters are yet remaining, and place his filial affection in a very diſtinguiſhed light. He ſoon after returned to his native country, and was elected repreſentative for the borough of Okehampton in Devonſhire, and behaved ſo much to the ſatisfaction of his conſtituents, that they ſeveral times re-elected him for the ſame place, without putting him to the leaſt expence.

About this period, he received great marks of friendſhip from Frederick prince of Wales, father of his preſent majeſty; and was, in the year 1737, appointed principal ſecretary to his royal highneſs, and continued in the ſtricteſt intimacy with him till the time of his death. His attention to public buſineſs did not, however, prevent him from exerciſing his poetical talent. A moſt amiable young lady, Miſs Forteſcue, inſpired him with a paſſion which produced a number of little pieces, remarkable for their tenderneſs and elegance; and he had a happy facility of ſtriking out an extempore compliment, which obtained him no ſmall ſhare of reputation. One evening being in company with lord Cobham, and ſeveral of the nobility at Stowe, his lordſhip mentioned his deſign of putting up a buſt of lady Suffolk in his beautiful gardens; and, turning to Mr. Lyttelton, ſaid, "George, you muſt furniſh me with a motto

motto for it." "I will, my lord," anſwered Mr. Lyttelton, and directly produced the following couplet:

Her wit and beauty for a court were made,
But truth and goodneſs fit her for a ſhade.

When Mr. Pitt, the preſent earl of Chatham, loſt his commiſſion in the guards, in conſequence of his ſpirited behaviour in parliament, Mr. Lyttelton was in waiting at Leiceſter-houſe; and, on hearing the circumſtances, immediately wrote theſe lines:

Long had thy virtue mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far, ſuperior to a cornet's name;
This generous Walpole ſaw, and griev'd to find
So mean a poſt diſgrace that noble mind;
The ſervile ſtandard from thy free-born hand
He took, and bade thee lead the patriot band.

In the year 1742, he married Lucy, the daughter of Hugh Forteſcue of Filleigh, in the county of Devon, Eſq. the lady above-mentioned, whoſe examplary conduct, and uniform practice of religion and virtue, eſtabliſhed his conjugal happineſs upon the moſt ſolid baſis.

In 1744, he was appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, and during his continuance in that ſtation conſtantly exerted his influence in rewarding merit and ability. He was the friend and patron of Henry Fielding, James Thomſon, author of the Seaſons; Mr. Mallet, Dr. Young, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Pope, and Voltaire. On the death of Thomſon, who left his affairs in a very embaraſſed condition, Mr. Lyttelton took that poet's ſiſter under his protection. He reviſed the tragedy of Coriolanus, which that writer had not put the laſt hand to, and brought it out at the theatre-royal in Covent-garden, with a prologue of his own writing; in which he ſo affectingly lamented the loſs of that delightful bard, that not only Mr. Quin, who ſpoke the lines, but almoſt the whole audience, ſpontaneouſly burſt into tears.

In the beginning of the year 1746, his felicity was interrupted

interrupted by the loſs of his wife, who died in the 29th year of her age, leaving him one ſon, Thomas, the late lord Lyttelton, and a daughter, Lucy, who married lord viſcount Valentia. The remains of his amiable lady were depoſited at Over Arley in Worceſterſhire; and an elegant monument was erected to her memory in the church at Hagley, which contains the following inſcription, written by her huſband:

Made to engage all hearts, and charm all eyes;
Though meek, magnanimous; though witty, wiſe;
Polite, as all her life in courts had been;
Yet good, as ſhe the world had never ſeen;
The noble fire of an exalted mind,
With gentleſt female tenderneſs combin'd.
Her ſpeech was the melodious voice of love,
Her ſong the warbling of the vernal grove;
Her eloquence was ſweeter than her ſong,
Soft as her heart, and as her reaſon ſtrong.
Her form each beauty of her mind expreſs'd;
Her mind was virtue by the graces dreſs'd.

Beſides theſe beautiful lines, Mr. Lyttelton wrote monody on the death of his lady, which will be remembered while conjugal affection and a taſte for poetry exiſt in this country.

His maſterly obſervations on the converſion and apoſtleſhip of St. Paul were written at the deſire of Gilbert Weſt, Eſq. in conſequence of Mr. Lyttelton aſſerting, that, beſide all the proofs of the Chriſtian religion, which might be drawn from the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, from the neceſſary connection it has with the whole ſyſtem of the Jewiſh religion, from the miracles of Chriſt, and from the evidence given of his reſurrection by all the other apoſtles, he thought the converſion of St. Paul alone, duly conſidered, was of itſelf a demonſtration ſufficient to prove Chriſtianity to be a divine revelation. Mr. Weſt was ſtruck with the thought, and aſſured his friend, that ſo compendious a

proof would be of great uſe to convince thoſe unbelievers, that will not attend to a longer ſeries of arguments: and time has ſhewn he was not out in his conjecture, as the tract is eſteemed one of the beſt defences of Chriſtianity which has hitherto been publiſhed.

In 1754, he reſigned his office of lord of the treaſury, and was made cofferer to his majeſty's houſehold, and ſworn of the privy-council: previous to which he married a ſecond time, Elizabeth, daughter of field-marſhal Sir Robert Rich, whoſe indiſcreet conduct gave him great uneaſineſs, and from whom he was ſeparated, by mutual conſent, a few years after his marriage.

After filling the offices of chancellor and under-treaſurer of the court of exchequer, he was, by letters-patent, dated the 19th of November 1757, 31ſt of George II. created a peer of Great Britain, by the ſtyle and title of lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley, in the county of Worceſter.

His ſpeeches in both houſes of parliament, upon ſundry occaſions, exhibit ſtrong proofs of a genius ſuperior to the generality of mankind, of ſound judgment, of incorruptible integrity, of great goodneſs of heart, and of maſterly elocution. But, above all, his oration in the houſe of commons on the motion for the repeal of the Jew bill, in the ſeſſion of parliament of 1753, is ſo perfect a model of fine compoſition in our language, that it is entitled to a place in this work, on the ſtrong probability that it may prove of ſingular utility to ſome of our young readers.

"Mr. SPEAKER,

"I ſee no occaſion to enter at preſent into the merits of the bill we paſſed the laſt ſeſſion for the naturalization of Jews; becauſe I am convinced, that, in the preſent temper of the nation, not a ſingle foreign Jew will think it expedient to take any benefit of that act; and therefore the repealing of it is giving up nothing. I aſſented to it laſt year, in hopes it might induce ſome wealthy Jews to come and ſettle amongſt us; in that light

light I ſaw enough of utility in it, to make me incline rather to approve than diſlike it; but that any man alive could be zealous either for or againſt it, I confeſs I had no idea. What affects our religion is indeed of the higheſt and moſt ſerious importance. God forbid we ſhould ever be indifferent about that! but, I thought this had no more to do with religion, than any turnpike-act we paſſed in that ſeſſion; and, after all the divinity that has been preached on the ſubject, I think ſo ſtill.

"RESOLUTION and STEADINESS are excellent qualities; but it is the application of them upon which their value depends. A wiſe government, Mr. Speaker, will know where to yield, as well as where to reſiſt: and there is no ſurer mark of littleneſs of mind in an adminiſtration, than obſtinacy in trifles. Public wiſdom, on ſome occaſions, muſt give way to popular folly; eſpecially in a free country, where the humour of the people muſt be conſidered as attentively as the humour of a king in an abſolute monarchy. Under both forms of government, a prudent and honeſt miniſtry will indulge a ſmall folly, and will reſiſt a great one. Not to vouchſafe now and then a kind indulgence to the former, would diſcover an ignorance of human nature: not to reſiſt the latter at all times, would be meanneſs and ſervility.

"Sir, I look on the bill we are at preſent debating, not as a ſacrifice made to popularity (for it ſacrifices nothing), but as a prudent regard to ſome conſequences ariſing from the nature of the clamour raiſed againſt the late act for naturalizing Jews, which ſeem to require a particular conſideration.

"It has been hitherto the rare and envied felicity of his majeſty's reign, that his ſubjects have enjoyed ſuch a ſettled tranquillity, ſuch a freedom from angry religious diſputes, as is not to be paralleled in any former times. The true Chriſtian ſpirit of moderation, of charity, of univerſal benevolence, has prevailed in the people, has prevailed in the clergy of all ranks and de-

grees, inſtead of thoſe narrow principles, thoſe bigotted prejudices, that furious, that implacable, that ignorant zeal, which had often done ſo much hurt to the church and the ſtate. But from the ill-underſtood, inſignificant act of parliament you are now moved to repeal, occaſion has been taken to deprive us of this ineſtimable advantage. It is a pretence to diſturb the peace of the church, to infuſe idle fears into the minds of the people, and make religion itſelf an engine of ſedition. It behoves the piety, as well as the wiſdom, of parliament, to diſappoint thoſe endeavours. Sir, the very worſt miſchief that can be done to religion, is to pervert it to the purpoſes of faction. Heaven and hell are not more diſtant, than the benevolent ſpirit of the goſpel, and the malignant ſpirit of party. The moſt impious wars ever made were thoſe called holy wars. He who hates another man for not being a Chriſtian, is himſelf not a Chriſtian. Chriſtianity, Sir, breathes love, and peace, and good-will to man. A temper conformable to the dictates of that holy religion has lately diſtinguiſhed this nation; and a glorious diſtinction it was. But there is latent at all times, in the minds of the vulgar, a ſpark of enthuſiaſm, which, if blown by the breath of a party, may, even when it ſeems quite extinguiſhed, be ſuddenly revived, and raiſed to a flame. The act of laſt ſeſſion for naturalizing Jews has very unexpectedly adminiſtered fuel to feed that flame. To what a height it may riſe, if it ſhould continue much longer, one cannot eaſily tell; but take away the fuel, and it will die of itſelf.

"It is the misfortune of all the Roman Catholic countries, that there the church and the ſtate, the civil power, and the heirarchy, have ſeparate intereſts, and are continually at variance one with the other. It is our happineſs that here they form but one ſyſtem. While this harmony laſts, whatever hurts the church, hurts the ſtate: whatever weakens the credit of the governors of the church, takes away from the civil

power

power a part of its ſtrength, and ſhakes the whole conſtitution.

"Sir, I truſt and believe, that by ſpeedily paſſing the bill we ſhall ſilence that obloquy which has ſo unjuſtly been caſt upon our reverend prelates (ſome of the moſt reſpectable that ever adorned our church), for the part they took in the act which this repeals.—And it greatly concerns the whole community, that they ſhould not loſe that reſpect which is ſo juſtly due to them, by a popular clamour, kept up in oppoſition to a meaſure of no importance in itſelf. But if the departing from that meaſure ſhould not remove the prejudice ſo maliciouſly raiſed, I am certain that no further ſtep you can take will be able to remove it; and therefore I hope you will ſtop here. This appears to be a reaſonable and ſafe condeſcenſion, by which no body will be hurt; but all beyond this would be dangerous weakneſs in government. It might open a door to the wildeſt enthuſiaſm, and to the moſt miſchievous attacks of political diſaffection working upon that enthuſiaſm. If you encourage and authoriſe it to fall on the ſynagogue, it will go from thence to the meeting-houſe, and in the end to the palace. But let us be careful to check its further progreſs. The more zealous we are to ſupport Chriſtianity, the more vigilant ſhould we be in maintaining toleration. If we bring back perſecution, we bring back the antichriſtian ſpirit of Popery; and when the ſpirit is here, the whole ſyſtem will ſoon follow. Toleration is the baſis of all public quiet. It is a character of freedom given to the mind, more valuable, I think, than that which ſecures our perſons and eſtates. Indeed, they are inſeparably connected together; for where the mind is not free, where the conſcience is enthralled, there is no freedom. Spiritual tyranny puts on the galling chains; but civil tyranny is called in to rivet and fix them. We ſee it in Spain, and many other countries; we have formerly both ſeen and felt it in England. By the bleſſing of God, we are

now delivered from all kinds of oppreſſion. Let us take care that they may never return."

This ſpeech had its deſired effect; the whole houſe was ſtruck with the force of his lordſhip's arguments, and the repeal of the naturalization-act took place without much oppoſition. One would have imagined, that ſuch conſpicuous abilities for the public ſervice ſhould have paved the way to the firſt employments in the ſtate; but, without being able to account for it, we find his lordſhip, after he was called up to the houſe of peers, totally diveſted of all public employment, and only exerting himſelf upon particular occaſions in his parliamentary capacity.

The laſt ſpeech which added to his great reputation, as a moſt able ſenator and complete orator, was delivered in the ſeſſion of 1763, upon a debate concerning the privileges of parliament, in which he ſupported the dignity of the peerage with a depth of knowledge that ſurpriſed the oldeſt peers preſent, who could not but wonder at the information they received on the ſubject of their rights and privileges from a peer of only ſix years creation, when thoſe who had ſat in the houſe, ſome twenty, ſome thirty years, were not able to give ſo good an account of them.

From about this period to that of his death, his lordſhip courted retirement; and, in the enjoyment of a ſelect ſociety of friends he had an opportunity of exerciſing thoſe literary talents for which he was ſo eminent: he now found leiſure to correſpond with many of his learned friends; and to finiſh his "Dialogues of the Dead," a moſt maſterly performance, containing leſſons of the pureſt morality, conveyed in a ſtyle and manner the beſt calculated at once to charm and inſtruct a mind virtuouſly diſpoſed.

In the month of July 1773, this accompliſhed nobleman was ſuddenly ſeized with an inflammation in his bowels, which turned to a mortification, and in a few days deprived the world of one of its moſt exalted characters.

racters. His laſt moments exhibited a pleaſing, though an affecting ſcene; it was ſuch as the exit of the great and good man alone can preſent; unimpaired underſtanding, unaffected greatneſs of mind, calm reſignation, and humble, but confident hopes in the mercy of God, graced the dying accents of the Chriſtian philoſopher. He was ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his only ſon Thomas, the late lord Lyttelton. A complete collection of all his lordſhip's miſcellaneous works have been publiſhed ſince his death, in three volumes 8vo, by his nephew, George Ayſcough, Eſq. His Hiſtory of Henry the Second, which was publiſhed in four volumes 4to, and in ſix volumes 8vo, is a very impartial and valuable work.

SUPPLEMENT.

THE LIFE OF

DR. SAMUEL CLARKE.

[A. D. 1675, to 1735.]

WE cannot open this Supplement, which is to contain the lives of the moſt eminent men in private life, with more edifying and entertaining memoirs than thoſe of a learned and conſcientious divine, whoſe ſentiments and conduct have been lately revived by ſome living divines of the church of England; who, like him, being unable to procure a long-deſired reformation of the doctrines and diſcipline of the church of England, have gone one ſtep further, and have thrown up valuable benefices, that they might be at liberty to follow the dictates of their own conſciences, and to teach the people what they conceive to be the pure doctrines of Chriſtianity.

The

The reverend Mr. Lindſey ſet the example, and has not only eſtabliſhed a new congregation in London (in which he has ſince obtained for his aſſociate the reverend Dr. Diſney), but has publiſhed a reformed liturgy upon the plan of the great divine whoſe life we are now entering upon; and, as a proof of our preſent happy national diſpoſition, Mr. Lindſey has not ſuffered under any of thoſe vexatious moleſtations which the blind zeal of the bigotted prelacy and clergy threw in the way of Dr. Clarke. The ſpirit of toleration, which is the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity, is the characteriſtic of the preſent times; and to the honour of our preſent bench of biſhops be it recorded, that they do not give countenance to the very few intemperate clergy, whoſe falſe zeal urges them from the pulpit to attempt the revival of religious feuds, by inflammatory diſcourſes againſt the preſent reformers of the church of England.

Dr. Samuel Clarke was born in the city of Norwich in 1675, and educated in the free ſchool of that place, under the care of the reverend Mr. Burton.

He was the ſon of Edward Clarke, Eſq. alderman of that city, and one of its repreſentatives in parliament for ſeveral years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and of untainted reputation for probity and virtue.

In 1691, Mr. Clarke ſent his ſon to Caius College in Cambridge, to be under the tuition of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Ellis. Here his great genius and abilities ſoon diſcovered themſelves: and when he was little more than twenty-one years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent tranſlation of, and notes upon, Rohault's Phyſics, to the eſtabliſhment of the Newtonian philoſophy.

This performance is to this day in uſe at our univerſities, and the notes are given to pupils in philoſophy as general guides in the purſuit of their ſtudies in this ſcience.

When

When our divine came firſt to the univerſity, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes was the eſtabliſhed philoſophy there; though, as biſhop Hoadly juſtly obſerves, "it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy; having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correſpondency to the certainty of facts."

Mr. Ellis, Mr. Clarke's tutor, though a very learned man, was a zealot for this philoſophy, and, no doubt, gave his pupils the moſt favourable impreſſions of what he had ſo cloſely embraced himſelf.

The great Sir Iſaac Newton had indeed then publiſhed his Principia: but this book was for the few, both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers, and ſtrong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt it; but neither the difficulty of the taſk, nor the reſpect he paid to the director of his ſtudies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind.

Diſſatisfied, therefore, with arbitrary hypotheſes, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of what was real and ſubſtantial; and in this ſtudy he made ſuch uncommon advances, that he was preſently maſter of the chief parts of the Newtonian philoſophy; and, to obtain his firſt degree, he performed a public exerciſe in the ſchools upon a queſtion taken from thence; which ſurpriſed the whole audience, both for the depth of knowledge, and clearneſs of expreſſion, that appeared through the whole.

In the year 1697, Mr. Clarke accidentally became acquainted with the celebrated John Whiſton, at a coffee-houſe in Norwich, who diſcovering in converſation that he was a young man of extraordinary genius, and had made an uncommon progreſs in the Newtonian philoſophy, at that time underſtood only by a few of the moſt learned men in the kingdom, he commenced an intimacy with him. Mr. Clarke had juſt taken holy orders;

orders; and Mr. Whiſton was chaplain to Dr. John Moore, biſhop of Norwich, a prelate of great eminence for his piety and learning, and who took delight in patronizing men of genius. Mr. Whiſton being charmed with the converſation of young Clarke, upon his return to the palace, gave an account of it to the biſhop, who thereupon deſired him to invite alderman Clarke and his ſon to dine with him; and this introduction laid the foundation of Mr. Clarke's future eſtabliſhment in the biſhop's family. For, the very next year, on the promotion of Mr. Whiſton to the living of Loweſtoff in Suffolk, his lordſhip appointed Mr. Clarke to ſucceed him as his domeſtic chaplain. Our young divine now found ſufficient leiſure to purſue his favourite ſtudy, which was divinity.

In 1699, he publiſhed three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance; and an anonymous piece, intituled, Reflections on Part of a Book called Amyntor.

The late celebrated Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, biſhop of Wincheſter, mentions theſe eſſays, and the reflections on Amyntor, not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Chriſtian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of the early ages of Chriſtianity, even at his firſt ſetting out in the world.

The author of Amyntor, it is well known, was the famous Mr. Toland: and the propoſitions maintained therein, which Dr. Clarke thought moſt to deſerve conſideration, are theſe three:

Firſt, That the books aſcribed to the diſciples and companions of the apoſtles, which are ſtill extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority, ſuch as the Epiſtles of Clemens to the Corinthians, the Epiſtles of Ignatius, the Epiſtle of Polycarp to the Phillippians, the Paſtor of Hermas, the Epiſtle of Barnabas,

nabas, &c. are all very eaſily proved to be ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous.

Secondly, That it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers of theſe books; that Barnabas has many ridiculous paſſages; and by ſaying, that the apoſtles, before their converſion, were the greateſt ſinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and ſimplicity againſt infidels: that the Paſtor of Hermas is the ſilleſt book in the world; and that Ignatius ſays, the virginity of Mary was a ſecret to the devil; which Dr. Clarke ſuppoſes Mr. Toland cites as a ridiculous ſaying.

Thirdly, That they who think theſe books genuine ought to receive them into the canon of ſcripture, ſince the reputed authors of them were companions and fellow-labourers of the apoſtles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke; which is the only reaſon (Mr. T. ever heard of) why theſe two evangeliſts are thought inſpired.

Theſe are the principal aſſertions of the author of Amyntor; in oppoſition to which, Dr. Clarke advances and maintains the three following propoſitions:

Firſt, That though we are not infallibly certain that the epiſtle of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, with the Paſtor of Hermas, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be ſo, upon very great authority, and with very good reaſon.

Secondly, That therefore, though they are not received as of the ſame authority with the canonical books of the New Teſtament, yet they ought to have a proportional veneration paid to them, both with reſpect to the authors, and to the writings themſelves.

Thirdly, That neither the belief of the genuineneſs of theſe books, nor the reſpect paid to them as ſuch, does in the leaſt diminiſh from the authority of the New Teſtament, or tend to make the number of the canonical books uncertain or precarious.

In

In 1701, Mr. Clarke publiſhed his Paraphraſe on the Goſpel of St. Matthew; which was ſoon followed by thoſe on St. Mark, Luke, and John; a work which is deſervedly held in the higheſt eſteem. His original deſign was to have gone through the whole of the New Teſtament in the ſame maſterly, plain, ſimple manner, giving a juſt repreſentation of what is recorded in the goſpel, without entering into abſtruſe, critical commentaries. We are told that he had actually begun his Paraphraſe upon the Acts of the Apoſtles; but ſomething accidental interrupted the execution: and it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards reſume and complete ſo excellent a work; which his friends often preſſed upon him, and to which he would ſometimes anſwer, that it was made leſs neceſſary by the labours of ſeveral worthy and learned perſons, ſince the publication of his work upon the Four Goſpels. However, his paraphraſe was found to be ſo generally uſeful, that it was ſtrongly recommended by the moſt eminent divines; and it has paſſed through four editions.

About the year 1702, the biſhop gave Mr. Clarke the rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and procured for him a pariſh in that city; both together of very inconſiderable value; and theſe he ſerved himſelf, in the ſeaſon when the biſhop reſided at Norwich. His preaching was at firſt without notes; and ſo continued until he became rector of St. James's.

In the year 1703, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's lecture; and the ſubject he choſe was, "The Being and Attributes of God;" in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was appointed to preach the ſame lecture the next year; when he choſe for his ſubject, "The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion."

His ſermons on theſe ſubjects are thrown in continued diſcourſes, and printed together, under the general title of A Diſcourſe concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of Chriſtian Revelation

velation, in anſwer to Mr. Hobbes, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of Reaſon, and other Deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion; being ſixteen ſermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the Lecture founded by Robert Boyle, Eſq."

Theſe ſermons were printed in two diſtinct volumes; the firſt in 1705, and the ſecond in 1706. They have been ſince printed in one, and have paſſed through ſeveral editions. In the fourth and fifth editions, were added ſeveral letters to Dr. Clarke, from a gentleman in Glouceſterſhire (Dr. Joſeph Butler, afterwards biſhop of Briſtol), relating to the Demonſtration, &c. with the doctor's anſwers. In the ſixth and ſeventh editions, were added, "A Diſcourſe concerning the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and the Application of them to Chriſt; and, "An anſwer to a ſeventh letter, concerning the argument *a priori*." Mr. Clarke having endeavoured to ſhew, that the being of a God may be demonſtrated by arguments *a priori*, this led him into a controverſy with ſome of the theological writers of his time.

The reputation, however, which Mr. Clarke acquired by his Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, could not be diminiſhed by any thing that came from the pens of his antagoniſts. And how far the work merited the approbation of all pious and learned men, may be collected from the following character given of it by biſhop Hoadly.

"He has laid the foundations of true religion too deep and ſtrong to be ſhaken either by the ſuperſtition of ſome, or the infidelity of others. He choſe particularly to conſider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbes, the moſt plauſible patrons of the Syſtem of Fate and Neceſſity; a ſyſtem which, by deſtroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the ſame time deſtroys all that can be ſtyled virtuous or praiſeworthy. This being a ſubject into which all the ſub-

tilties and quirks of metaphyſics had entered, and thrown their uſual obſcurity and intricacy, the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbiſh of confuſion; in introducing a language that could be underſtood; in clothing the cleareſt ideas in this plain and manly language; and in concluding nothing but from ſuch evidence as amounts to demonſtrative. He began with ſelf-evident propoſitions; from them advanced to ſuch as received their proof from the former; and in theſe took no ſtep till he had ſecured the way before him. Throughout the whole, no word is uſed but what is intelligible to all who are verſed in ſuch ſubjects, and what expreſſes the clear idea in the mind of him who makes uſe of it. All is one regular building, erected upon an immovable foundation, and riſing up from one ſtage to another, with equal ſtrength and dignity."

About this time, Mr. Whiſton informs us, he diſcovered that Mr. Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to ſuſpect, that the Athanaſian doctrine of the Trinity was not the doctrine of the early ages.

Whether Sir Iſaac Newton had given Mr. Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it aroſe from inquiries of his own, Mr. Whiſton, who gives us this account, cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr. Clarke ſay, "That he never read the Athanaſian creed in his pariſh, at or near Norwich, but once; and that was only by miſtake, at a time when it was not appointed by the rubrick."

In 1706, his patron, biſhop Moore, by his intereſt, procured for him the rectory of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, in London.

The ſame year he publiſhed his Letter to Mr. Dodwell, in anſwer to that author's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning the Immortality of the Soul. The whole title is, "A Letter to Mr. Dodwell; wherein all the Arguments

Arguments in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the Immortality of the Soul are particularly anſwered, and the Judgment of the Fathers concerning that Matter truly repreſented." Mr. Dodwell's book, againſt which this is levelled, is intituled, "An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from Scriptures, and the Firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal, but immortaliſed actually by the Pleaſure of God, to Puniſhment or to Reward, by its Union with the Divine Baptiſmal Spirit; wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this Divine Immortaliſing Spirit ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops."

The miſchievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was ſupported by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more neceſſary that an anſwer ſhould be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a deſigned banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr. Clarke was thought the moſt proper perſon for this work. "And he did it (ſays the biſhop of Wincheſter) in ſo excellent a manner, both with regard to the philoſophical part, and to the opinions of ſome of the primitive writers upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave univerſal ſatisfaction." But this controverſy did not ſtop here. For Mr. Anthony Collins, coming in as a ſecond to Mr. Dodwell, went much farther into the philoſophy of the diſpute, and indeed ſeemed to produce all that could plauſibly be ſaid againſt the immateriality of the ſoul, as well as the liberty of human actions.

This opened a large field of controverſy, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with ſuch a ſpirit of clearneſs and demonſtration, as ſhewed him greatly ſuperior to his adverſaries, both in metaphyſical and natural knowledge.

Mr. Clarke's piece was ſoon followed by four defences of it, in four ſeveral letters to the author of a letter to the learned Mr. Henry Dodwell; containing ſome remarks on a (pretended) demonſtration of the

immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in Mr. Clarke's anſwer to his late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, &c.

The ſame year likewiſe he tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's Treatiſe of Optics into elegant Latin.

In the midſt of his other labours, he found time alſo to ſhew his regard to mathematical and phyſical ſtudies. His exact knowledge and ſkill in them, and his natural affection and capacity for theſe ſtudies, were not a little improved by the particular friendſhip of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton; at whoſe requeſt, biſhop Hoadly tells us, he tranſlated that great man's Treatiſe on Optics, and ſent it all over Europe in a plainer and leſs ambiguous ſtyle than the Engliſh language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that after the death of Sir Iſaac, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, againſt the objections of ſome late mathematicians, in a ſhort, plain, and maſterly letter. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo particularly pleaſed with our author's verſion of his Optics, that he preſented him with the ſum of five hundred pounds, or one hundred pounds for each child, the doctor having then five children.

He was now brought by his patron to court, and recommended to the favour of queen Anne, who appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary; and ſoon after, in conſideration of his great merit, and at the requeſt of the biſhop, preſented him to the rectory of St. James's, Weſtminſter; from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his buſineſs to compoſe, and write down, as accurate ſermons as he could.

From the time of his taking poſſeſſion of this living, he reſided conſtantly in the rectory-houſe, ſeldom leaving the place, unleſs for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty; and during the time of his being rector, beſides the regular perform-

ance

ance of all the other duties of his profeſſion, he followed the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, in reading lectures upon the church-catechiſm, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year.

Upon his advancement to this benefice in 1709, he took the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon that occaſion by the performance of a remarkable public exerciſe. The queſtions on which he diſputed were theſe: I. Nullum Fidei Chriſtianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, eſt rectæ Rationi diſſentaneum, i. e. "No Article of Chriſtian Faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is contrary to right reaſon." II. Sine Actionum Humanarum Libertate nulla poteſt eſſe Religio, i. e. "Without the Freedom of Human Actions, there can be no Religion."

The doctor's theſis was an elaborate diſcourſe upon the firſt of theſe two queſtions. Dr. James, then royal profeſſor of divinity, a very learned and acute diſputant, exerted himſelf more than uſual on this occaſion; and after having ſifted every part of Dr. Clarke's theſis with the ſtricteſt nicety, preſſed him with all the force of ſyllogiſm in its various forms. To the former, our reſpondent made an extempore reply, in a continued diſcourſe for near half an hour; in which, without any heſitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the profeſſor had ſaid, in ſuch a manner, that many of the auditors declared themſelves aſtoniſhed, and owned, that, if they had not been within ſight of him, they ſhould have ſuppoſed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper.

After this, in the courſe of the ſyllogiſtical diſputation, he guarded ſo well againſt the arts which the profeſſor was maſter of in perfection, replied ſo readily to the greateſt difficulties ſuch an objector could propoſe, and preſſed him ſo cloſe and hard with clear and intelligent anſwers, that perhaps never was ſuch a conflict heard in the ſchools, nor any diſputation

kept up with ſuch ſpirit, and ended with equal honour to the reſpondent. The profeſſor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, ſaid to him aloud, towards the end of the diſputation, *Probe me exacuiſti*, or (as others think) *exercuiſti:* which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humorous way of ſpeaking. And the learned members of the univerſity, who had with pleaſure attended to every part of the diſputation, went away diſcourſing to one another of the unuſual entertainment they had had in the ſchools: and particularly admiring, that, after an abſence of ſo many years, and a long courſe of buſineſs of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the ſubjects he undertook in ſuch a maſterly manner, as if this ſort of academical exerciſe had been his conſtant employment; and with ſuch a fluency and purity of expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed to no other language in converſation but Latin. Mr. Whiſton tells us, in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was preſent at this famous act, that "every creature was wrapt up into ſilence and aſtoniſhment, and thought the performance truly admirable."

In the year 1710, Dr. Clarke publiſhed a beautiful edition of Cæſar's Commentaries; which is intituled, C. Julii Cæſaris quæ extant, accuratiſſime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correcta: acceſſerunt annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S.T.P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utiliſſimæ.—It was printed in 1712, in folio; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8vo. It was dedicated to the great duke of Marlborough, at a time when his unparalleled victories and ſucceſſes had raiſed his glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his intereſt and favour at home.

In the publication of this book, Dr. Clarke took particular care of the punctuation, or a proper diſtribution of each ſentence into its conſtituent members; an exactneſs too much neglected by learned men, though abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the perſpicuity,

ty, and even the beauty, of an author's language. In the annotations he ſelected what appeared the beſt and moſt judicious in other editors, with ſome corrections and emendations of his own interſperſed.

He acknowledges himſelf very particularly obliged to the learned Dr. Richard Bentley, for the uſe of a manuſcript in the king's library; to the reverend Dr. Robert Cannon, for ſome various readings, tranſcribed from the Muſæum of Iſaac Voſſius, but different from thoſe which are inſerted in the Amſterdam edition of Cæſar, with the notes of Dionyſius Voſſius; and, laſtly, to Dr. John Moore, biſhop of Ely, for a manuſcript uſed by Dr. Davis in his edition of Cæſar, and by him called the Norwich Manuſcript, biſhop Moore being then biſhop of Norwich.

Mr. Addiſon takes notice of Dr. Clarke's folio edition of Cæſar's Commentaries in the following words.

"The new edition which is given us of Cæſar's Commentaries has already been taken notice of in foreign gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the Engliſh preſs. It is no wonder that an edition ſhould be very correct, which has paſſed through the hands of one of the moſt accurate, learned, and judicious writers this age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the ſeveral cuts with which this noble work is illuſtrated, makes it the fineſt book that I have ever ſeen; and is a true inſtance of the Engliſh genius, which, though it does not come the firſt into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world."

Soon after this, Dr. Clarke became engaged in a warm controverſy, occaſioned by the publication of his Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity: of which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the lower houſe of convocation, in 1714; but the affair ſoon ended, upon the members of the upper houſe declaring themſelves ſatisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author, upon the ſubject of the complaint.

Thus

Thus ended this troubleſome affair; the moſt authentic account of which we have in a piece, intituled, "An Apology for Dr. Clarke; containing, an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity. London, 1714, in 8vo."

His Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity was firſt publiſhed in 8vo, in 1712; and afterwards there was a ſecond edition, with ſome alterations, in 1716. The whole title is, "The Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity; wherein every Text in the New Teſtament, relating to that Doctrine, is diſtinctly conſidered; and the Divinity of our Bleſſed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved, and explained."

"The ſubject of this book (the author tells us) is a doctrine no way affecting the particular conſtitution, order, or external government of the church; but, in general, of great importance in religion; a matter not to be treated of ſlightly and careleſsly, as it were by accident only, or after the manner of ſuperficial controverſies about words, or of particular occaſional queſtions concerning ambiguous texts; but which ought, when diſcourſed upon at all, to be examined thoroughly on all ſides, by a ſerious ſtudy of the whole ſcripture, and by taking care that the explication be conſiſtent with itſelf in every part."

It is divided into three parts: The firſt is, "A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity." In the ſecond part, the foregoing Doctrine is ſet forth at large, and explained in particular and diſtinct Propoſitions. And, in the third, the principal Paſſages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity, are conſidered.

The biſhop of Winchester, before mentioned, applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own ſentiments upon ſo important a point, which ſhould be a rule for every rational Chriſtian.

"He knew and all men agreed, that it was a matter of mere revelation; he did not therefore retire into his cloſet,

cloſet, and ſet himſelf to invent and form a plauſible hypotheſis, which might ſit eaſily upon his mind; he had not recourſe to abſtract and metaphyſical reaſonings, to cover or patronize any ſyſtem he might have embraced before; but, as a Chriſtian, he laid open the New Teſtament before him. He ſearched out every text, in which mention was made of the Three Perſons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words uſed about every one of them; and by the beſt rules of grammar and criticiſm, and by his ſkill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every Perſon, and what was not.

"I am far from taking upon me (adds the biſhop) to determine, in ſo difficult a queſtion, between Dr. Clarke, and thoſe who made replies to him. The debate ſoon grew very warm and in a little time ſeemed to reſt principally upon him, and one particular adverſary (Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen College, Cambridge), very ſkilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well verſed in the writings of the ancient fathers.

"This I hope I may be allowed to ſay, that every Chriſtian divine and layman ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke for the method into which he brought this diſpute; and for that collection of the texts of the New Teſtament, by which at laſt it muſt be decided, on which ſide ſoever the truth may be ſuppoſed to lie.

"And, let me add this one word more, that ſince men of ſuch thought, and ſuch learning, have ſhewn the world, in their own example, how widely the moſt honeſt inquirers after truth may differ upon ſuch ſubjects, this, methinks, ſhould a little abate our mutual cenſures, and a little take off from our poſitiveneſs about the neceſſity of explaining, in this or that one determinate ſenſe, the ancient paſſages relating to points of ſo ſublime a nature."

His lordſhip concludes what he had to ſay upon this ſubject,

ſubject, with aſſuring us, that, "from the time of Dr. Clarke's publiſhing this book to the day of his death, he found no reaſon, as far as he was able to judge, to alter the notions which he had there profeſſed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, towards any of thoſe ſchemes, which ſeemed to him to derogate from the honour of the Father on one ſide, or from that of the Son and Spirit on the other.

"This (adds the biſhop) I thought proper juſt to mention, as what all his friends know to be truth."

Some time before the publication, a meſſage was ſent him from the lord Godolphin, and others of queen Anne's miniſters, importing, that the affairs of the public were with difficulty then kept in the hands of thoſe who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an unſeaſonable time for the publication of a book which would make a great noiſe and diſturbance; and they therefore deſired him to forbear till a fitter opportunity would offer itſelf.

To this meſſage Dr. Clarke paid no regard, but went on, according to the dictates of his conſcience, with the publication of his book. Since Dr. Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great editions, left, under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the preſs.

It gave occaſion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the ſubject, written by himſelf and others, too tedious to enumerate, but which may be found in a pamphlet, intituled, "An account of all the conſiderable Books and Pamphlets that have been written on either ſide in the Controverſy concerning the Trinity, ſince the year 1712; in which is alſo contained an Account of the Pamphlets written this laſt Year on either Side by the Diſſenters to the end of the Year 1719. London, 1720, in 8vo."

In 1715 and 1716, Dr. Clarke had a diſpute with the celebrated Mr. Leibnitz relating to the principles of natural philoſophy and religion; and a collection of

of the papers which paſſed between them was publiſhed in 1717.

To this collection are added, Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Neceſſity, from a gentleman (Richard Bulkley, Eſq.) of the Univerſity of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Anſwers to them; alſo remarks upon a book, intituled, "A Philoſophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty (by Anthony Collins, Eſq.)." This book is inſcribed to her late majeſty queen Caroline (then princeſs of Wales), who was pleaſed to have the controverſy paſs through her hands, and was the witneſs and judge of every ſtep of it. And Dr. Clarke uſed often to ſpeak with admiration of the queen's ſagacity and judgment in the ſeveral parts of the diſpute.

It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of liberty and neceſſity; points in which Dr. Clarke always excelled, and ſhewed a ſuperiority to all his opponents, whenever they came into private diſcourſe, or public debate.

Mr. Whiſton obſerves, "that Leibnitz was preſſed ſo hard by Dr. Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton, who heartily aſſiſted the doctor, that he was forced to have recourſe to metaphyſical ſubtilties, and to a preeſtabliſhed harmony of things in his own imagination, which he ſtyles a ſuperior reaſon, till it was ſoon ſeen that Leibnitz's ſuperior reaſon ſerved little elſe, but to confirm the great ſuperiority of experience and mathematics above all ſuch metaphyſical ſubtilties whatſoever. "And I confeſs (adds Mr. Whiſton), I look upon theſe letters of Dr. Clarke as among the moſt uſeful of his performances in natural philoſophy."

In 1718, a controverſy aroſe concerning the primitive doxologies, occaſioned by an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in thoſe of the Singing Pſalms.

This

This he did in certain ſelect hymns and pſalms, reprinted that year, for the uſe of St. James's pariſh.

The alterations were theſe:

To God, through Chriſt, his only Son,
Immortal Glory be, &c.

And,

To God, through Chriſt, his Son, our Lord,
All Glory be therefore, &c.

A conſiderable number of theſe ſelect pſalms and hymns having been diſperſed by the ſociety for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, before the alteration of the doxologies was taken notice of, Dr. Clarke was charged with a deſign of impoſing upon the ſociety; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the uſe of his own pariſh only, before the ſociety had any thoughts of purchaſing any of the copies. However, the biſhop of London thought proper to publiſh "A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Dioceſe, concerning their not uſing any new Forms of Doxology, dated December 26, 1718." This letter was animadverted upon by Mr. Whiſton, in his Letter of Thanks to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy againſt the Uſe of new Forms of Doxology, &c. dated January 17, 1719; and in a pamphlet, intituled, "An Humble Apology for St. Paul, and the other Apoſtles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Hereſy. By Cornelius Paets. London, 1719."

Soon after came out an ironical piece, intituled, "A Defence of the Biſhop of London, in anſwer to Mr. Whiſton's Letter of Thanks; addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiſton out of his Church." Mr. Whiſton's Letter of Thanks occaſioned likewiſe the two following pieces, viz. "The Lord Biſhop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated, &c. By a Believer; London, 1719."

And,

And, "A Seaſonable Review of Mr. Whiſton's Account of Primitive Doxologies, &c. By a Preſbyter of the Dioceſe of London (ſuppoſed to be Dr. William Berriman), London, 1719." To the latter, Mr. Whiſton replied in a Second Letter to the Biſhop of London, &c. dated March 11, 1719. And the author of the Seaſonable Review, &c. anſwered him, in a Second Review, &c. As to Dr. Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr. Whiſton eſteems it "one of the moſt Chriſtian attempts towards ſomewhat of reformation, upon the primitive footing, that he ever ventured upon. But he adds, that "the Biſhop of London, in the way of modern authority, was quite too hard for Dr. Clarke, in the way of primitive Chriſtianity."

About this time he was preſented by Mr. Lechmere, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, to the maſterſhip of Wigſtan hoſpital in Leiceſter.

In 1724, he publiſhed, in octavo, ſeventeen ſermons on ſeveral occaſions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Iſaac Newton, he was offered the place of maſter of the mint, which he thought proper to refuſe.

Upon the offer of this place, he adviſed with his friends, and particularly with Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiſton, who were both heartily againſt it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profeſſion, and would hinder the ſucceſs of his miniſtry. To which Mr. Whiſton added, as his principal reaſon againſt it, that ſuch refuſal would ſhew that he was in earneſt in religion. Dr. Clarke was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and could never reconcile himſelf to this ſecular preferment. And it is taken notice of to the honour of Mrs. Clarke, that ſhe never ſet her heart upon the advantages that this place would produce to her family, but left the doctor at full liberty to act as his conſcience and inclination ſhould direct him. Mr. Whiſton, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us, that Mr. Conduit, who ſucceeded, gave a thouſand

pounds to vacate a place among the king's writers, which was given to one of Dr. Clarke's ſons.

In 1728 was publiſhed, "A Letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, concerning The Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion." The beginning of the year 1729, he publiſhed at London, in quarto, the twelve firſt books of Homer's Iliad. This edition was dedicated to the duke of Cumberland. The Latin verſion is almoſt entirely new, and annotations are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the biſhop of Wincheſter tells us, was Dr. Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of ſomething like enthuſiaſm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was ſo unwilling to allow his favourite poet ever to nod, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reaſon for, every paſſage, word, and title, that could create any ſuſpicion.

"The tranſlation (adds his lordſhip), with his corrections, may now be ſtyled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treaſury of grammatical and critical knowledge."

The twelve laſt books of the Iliad were publiſhed in 1732, in quarto, by our author's ſon, Mr. Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the preface, that his father had finiſhed the annotations to the three firſt of thoſe books, and as far as the 359th verſe of the fourth; and had reviſed the text and verſion as far as 510 of the ſame book. A ſecond edition of the whole was publiſhed in 1735, in two volumes octavo.

This was the laſt year of this great and learned man's life; for he was taken ſuddenly ill on the 11th of May, and died on the 17th.

The day on which he was taken ill, he went out in the morning, to preach before the judges at Serjeant's Inn; and there he was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, which made it impoſſible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly ſo violent, that he

he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himſelf ſo much better in the afternoon, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be blooded; againſt which remedy he had entertained ſtrong prejudices.—But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and aſſiſtance of a very able phyſician abſolutely neceſſary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he alſo thought himſelf, to be out of all danger; and ſo continued to think till the Saturday morning following, when, to the inexpreſſible ſurpriſe of all about him the pain removed from his ſide to his head, and, after a very ſhort complaint, took away his ſenſes, ſo as they never returned more. He continued breathing till between ſeven and eight in the evening of that day, and then expired.

He married Katherine, the only daughter of the reverend Mr. Lockwood, rector of Little Maſſingham in Norfolk, by whom he had ſeven children; two of them died before him, and one a few weeks after him. Since his death, have been publiſhed, from his original manuſcripts by his brother, Dr. John Clarke dean of Sarum, "An Expoſition on the Church-Catechiſm;" and ten volumes of ſermons.

The Expoſition contains thoſe lectures he read, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year, at St. James's Church. In the latter part of his life, he reviſed them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the preſs. The firſt edition of them was in 1729.

This performance of Dr. Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned divine (Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen College, Cambridge), under the title of, "Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church-Catechiſm." This produced "An Anſwer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church-Catechiſm. By Dr. Sykes, dean of Burien."

The author of the Remarks replied, in a piece intituled, "The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Chriſtian Sacraments, conſidered; in reply to a pamphlet, intituled, An Anſwer, &c. As alſo the comparative Value of Moral and Poſitive Duties, diſtinctly ſtated and cleared." The Anſwerer rejoined, in "A Defence of the Anſwer, &c. wherein the Difference between Moral and Poſitive Duties is fully ſtated; being a Reply to," &c. This occaſioned a Supplement to the Treatiſe, intituled, "An Anſwer, &c. wherein the Nature and Value of Poſitive Inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and Objections anſwered. By the ſame author." Then followed the Anſwerer's Reply, intituled, "The True Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion aſſerted; being a reply to the Supplement, &c." which being animadverted upon by the Remarker, in the Poſtſcript to his Second Part of Scripture vindicated, produced "An Anſwer to the Poſtſcript, &c. wherein is ſhewn, that, if Reaſon be not a ſufficient Guide in matters of Religion, the Bulk of Mankind, for a thouſand Years, had no ſufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion."

The particulars of Dr. Clarke's character, with which we ſhall cloſe our account of this learned and conſcientious divine, are conciſely drawn by the maſterly hand of Dr. Hare, biſhop of Wincheſter, author of "Difficulties and Diſcouragements which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of Private Judgment."—What he ſays, in reſpect to the character of our author, is as follows.

"Dr. Clarke is a man who has all the good qualities that can meet together to recommend him. He is poſſeſſed of all the parts of learning that are valuable in a clergyman, in a degree that few poſſeſs any ſingle one. He has joined to a good ſkill in the three learned languages, a great compaſs of the beſt philoſophy and mathematics, as appears by his Latin works; and his Engliſh ones are ſuch a proof of his own piety, and

of

of his knowledge in divinity, and have done ſo much ſervice to religion, as would make any other man, that was not under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, ſecure of the friendſhip and eſteem of all good churchmen, eſpecially of the clergy: and to all this piety and learning, and the good uſe that has been made of it, is added, a temper happy beyond expreſſion; a ſweet, eaſy, modeſt, inoffenſive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no paſſion, vanity, inſolence, or oſtentation, appear either in what he writes or ſays; and yet theſe faults are often incident to the beſt of men, in the freedom of converſation, and in the writing againſt impertinent and unreaſonable adverſaries, eſpecially ſuch as ſtrike at the foundation of virtue and religion.

"This is the learning, this the temper, of the man whoſe ſtudy of the ſcriptures has betrayed him into a ſuſpicion of ſome heretical opinions."

THE LIFE OF

SIR JAMES THORNHILL.

[A. D. 1676, to 1732.]

TO one of thoſe incidental circumſtances produced by the viciſſitudes of human affairs, England ſtands indebted for the noble productions of this great maſter in the art of hiſtory-painting. He was the ſon of a gentleman, claiming deſcent from an ancient family in Dorſetſhire, and was born there in the year 1676. His father enjoyed a competent landed eſtate, but, by ill-management and diſſipation, he involved himſelf in ſuch difficulties, that he was obliged to ſell it. This ſituation of their domeſtic affairs obliged the ſon to think of applying himſelf to ſome profeſſion, by which he might be enabled to ſupport himſelf in a manner

ſuitable to his birth, and to the expectations he had formed before his father's misfortunes.

An early taſte for drawing ſuggeſted to him the idea of ſtudying the polite art of painting; and in this view he went to London, where he was protected and encouraged in his deſign by that eminent phyſician Dr. Sydenham.

At this period there were no very famous maſters in England; Sydenham was therefore obliged to place his nephew under the direction of a painter of ſo little eminence, that not even the merit of having had ſuch a pupil as Thornhill could preſerve his name from oblivion. The genius of our young artiſt ſupplied the defects of his inſtructor; being left to his own taſte, judgment, and application, the force of his imagination was called forth by this very circumſtance; and his induſtry keeping pace with his ingenuity, he made a rapid progreſs, and gradually roſe to the higheſt reputation.

His generous patron, as ſoon as he found him capable to form a judgment of the works of the great maſters of the Flemiſh and Italian ſchools, enabled him to travel through Holland and Flanders; from the latter he paſſed into France, where he bought ſeveral good pictures; amongſt others, a Holy Virgin, by Annibal Caracci, and the Hiſtory of Tancred, by Pouſſin. Unfortunately he did not purſue his travels; and, great as his merit was, the beſt judges are of opinion, that, had he ſtudied at Rome and at Venice only a ſhort time, he would have acquired greater correctneſs at the one, and a more exact knowledge of the perfection of colouring at the other, than he poſſeſſed; and his works would, in that caſe, it is thought, have been ſuperior to the firſt painters amongſt the moderns.

As it was, he excelled in hiſtorical and allegorical compoſitions, and in portrait, perſpective, and architecture; he had a fertile invention, he ſketched his deſigns

deſigns with great eaſe and ſpirit, and he executed them with a free and firm pencil.

His merit in his own country was unrivalled, and it ſoon attracted the attention of the patrons of the fine arts, who were indeed but few in number in his time; but they were ſuch as thought no rewards too great for excellence like his. Queen Anne ſet the example, by appointing him to be ſtate-painter, and employing him to paint the Hiſtory of St. Paul, in the dome of St. Paul's cathedral; it is executed in a noble and beautiful taſte, on eight pannels, in two colours, relieved with gold. He afterwards executed ſeveral other public works, particularly at Hampton-court-palace, where he painted an apartment, in which the queen and her conſort, prince George of Denmark, are repreſented in allegorical figures on the cieling; and by contemporary writers the portraits are ſaid to be the moſt ſtriking reſemblances of the royal pair: the ſame ſubject is executed in another taſte on the wall. The other paintings in that palace were done by Antonio Verrio, a Neapolitan.

Theſe great works having eſtabliſhed his reputation, he ſoon acquired a fortune ſufficient to enable him to repurchaſe the family-eſtate; and both wealth and honours were the fruits of his happy genius. He was choſen knight of the ſhire for Dorſetſhire, and in that capacity ſat ſeveral years in parliament. The queen likewiſe conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

The laſt great undertaking of a public nature, and which is eſteemed his maſter-piece was the paintings in the refectory and ſaloon of Greenwich Hoſpital; a work which at this time is the daily ſubject of admiration to the numerous viſitors of this magnificent building, and which, on that account, merits a particular deſcription.

The paſſage to this refectory is through a veſtibule, where Sir James has repreſented, on the cupola, the four winds; and on the walls are boys, ſupporting pannels,

nels, with inſcriptions of the names of the benefactors to the hoſpital. From thence you aſcend by a flight of ſteps to the refectory, which is a very lofty noble gallery, in the middle of which king William and queen Mary are repreſented allegorically, in a ſitting poſture, attended by the emblems of Love and the Virtues, who ſupport the ſceptre: the monarch appears to be giving peace to Europe. The twelve ſigns of the zodiac ſurround the great oval in which he is painted; the four ſeaſons of the year are ſeen above; and Apollo, in the chariot of the ſun, drawn by four horſes, making his tour through the zodiac. The painter has repreſented the four elements in the angles; and coloſſal figures ſupport the baluſtrade, where the portraits of thoſe able mathematicians, Tycho, Brahe, Copernicus, and Newton, who conſiderably improved the art of navigation, are finely painted.

The cieling is all by his own hand; but he employed a Polander to aſſiſt him in painting the walls, which are adorned with repreſentations of the Virtues, expreſſive of the deſign of the inſtitution; ſuch as Liberality, Hoſpitality, and Charity. The ſaloon is not ſo beautiful as the cieling; you aſcend to it by ſeveral ſteps. The cieling repreſents queen Anne and prince George of Denmark, ſurrounded by the heroic Virtues; Neptune and his train are offering their marine preſents, and the Four Quarters of the World are in different attitudes admiring them.

King George I. is painted, on the wall facing the entry to the ſaloon, ſitting, with all his family round him. On the left you have the landing of king William, and on the right George I. both at Greenwich. All the paintings were executed from deſigns made by Sir James; but it is to be lamented, that they were not all finiſhed by him; for the incorrectneſs of his aſſiſtant is inſtantly to be diſcerned by connoiſſeurs, who alſo complain, that the figures are too much crowded: upon the whole, however, this and his other works are

ſuch

ſuch proofs of ſuperior excellence in his art, that they do honour to his country, and will tranſmit his name to future generations.

Sir James Thornhill enjoyed the honour and emoluments of hiſtory-painter to the court, under George I. and a few years after the acceſſion of George II.; but, taking part in the political diſputes of the times, he was diſmiſſed from this poſt in 1731. This undeſerved diſgrace, it is ſaid, ſat heavy at his heart, and contributed to haſten his death, which happened in 1732, at the place of his nativity, after a year's illneſs.

In his perſon and diſpoſition, Sir James Thornhill was equally happy; and his engaging manners, joined with integrity and ſobriety, gained him the eſteem of all who knew him. In fine, he had all the virtues of a good man, without thoſe vices and foibles we but too frequently meet with in the characters of eminent artiſts.

*** *Authorities.* General Biog. Dictionary. Pilkington's Dictionary of the Painters.

THE LIFE OF

ALEXANDER POPE.

[A. D. 1688, to 1744.]

THIS excellent poet was deſcended from a good family, and born on the 8th of June 1688, in London. We are indebted, for a further account of Mr. Pope's family, to the ſatires that were made upon him; in anſwer to which, he thought proper to publiſh the following ſhort genealogy.

That Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordſhire; the head of which was the earl of Downe in Ireland, whoſe ſole heireſs married the earl of Lindſey. His mother was Editha, the daughter

daughter of William Turner, Eſq. of York: ſhe had three brothers; one of whom was killed; another died in the ſervice of king Charles I. and the eldeſt following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what eſtate remained after the ſequeſtrations and forfeitures of her family, which, as well as that of her huſband, was of the Romiſh religion.

He was taught to read very early by an aunt, and he learned to write, without any aſſiſtance, by copying printed books; which he executed with great neatneſs and exactneſs. At eight years of age, he was put under the tuition of one Taverner, a Popiſh prieſt, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues. He embibed theſe elements of claſſical learning with the greateſt facility, and, on firſt ſeeing the poets, diſcovered at once both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius.

About this time, accidentally meeting with Ogilby's tranſlation of Homer, he was ſo much ſtruck with the force of the ſtory, that, notwithſtanding the deadneſs and inſipidity of the verſification, Ogilby became a favourite book. The Ovid of Sandy's fell next in his way; and it is ſaid, that the raptures theſe tranſlations gave him were ſo ſtrong, that he ſpoke of them with pleaſure all his life after.

From his private tutor, he was ſent to a Popiſh ſeminary at Twyford, near Wincheſter, whence he was removed to a ſchool at Hyde-park-corner.

He was now about ten years of age, and being carried ſometimes to the play-houſe, the ſight of theatrical repreſentations put him upon turning the chief events of Homer into a kind of play, made up of a number of ſpeeches from Ogilby's tranſlation, connected by verſes of his own. He perſuaded the upper boys to act this piece. The maſter's gardener repreſented the character of Ajax; and the actors were dreſſed after the prints of his favourite Ogilby; which indeed make

far

far the beſt part of that book, being deſigned and engraved by artiſts of repute.

In the mean time, he was ſo unfortunate as to loſe, under his two laſt maſters, what he had acquired by the firſt. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield, in Windſor-foreſt, where his father had provided a convenient little houſe, not far from Okingham, in Berkſhire; and at his firſt coming, it is ſaid, was put under another prieſt for a few months, but with as little ſucceſs as before; ſo that he reſolved to become his own maſter. This country retreat, however, ſuited his melancholy and reflective temper; and it was about this time that he wrote his Ode on Solitude, which appears to be the firſt fruits of his poetical genius.

It was here too that he firſt peruſed the writings of Waller, Spenſer, and Dryden; but, on the firſt ſight of Dryden, he abandoned the reſt, having now found an author whoſe caſt was extremely congenial with his own. After he met with this favourite's works, he was never eaſy till he had ſeen the author; and for that purpoſe he procured a friend to bring him to a coffee-houſe where Dryden was, only that he might be bleſſed with the ſight of that great poet.

This could not have been long before Mr. Dryden's death, which happened in 1701; ſo that Mr. Pope was never known to him: a misfortune which he laments in the following pathetic words:

"*Virgilium tantum vidi.*"

He never mentioned him afterwards without a kind of rapturous veneration. Thus, for inſtance, having run over the names of his great friends and encouragers, he concludes with the perſon whom he eſteemed above all the reſt, in the following diſtich:

And St. John's ſelf, great Dryden's friend before,
With open arms receiv'd one poet more.

His

His works therefore he ſtudied with equal pleaſure and attention; he placed them before his eyes as a model: in ſhort, he copied not only his harmonious verſification, but the very turns of his periods: and hence it was, that he became enabled to give to Engliſh rhyme all the harmony of which it is capable.

Binfield being near Eaſthamſtead, where Sir William Trumbull then reſided, our young genius was introduced to the acquaintance of that gentleman, who, being ſtruck with admiration at his extraordinary genius, and pleaſed with his good ſenſe, as well as the decency and regularity of his manners, gave him great encouragement, and preſently admitted him to a ſhare of his friendſhip.

In the mean time, young Pope was not wanting to himſelf in improving his talents for poetry: at fourteen years of age, he had compoſed ſeveral elegant pieces; at fifteen, he had acquired ſome conſiderable knowledge in the two learned languages; to which he ſoon after added French and Italian

It is a common obſervation, that ſome ſeeds of vanity and ſelf-conceit are neceſſary ingredients in the compoſition of a poet; accordingly our author was not without a proper ſhare of theſe qualities, and now thought himſelf capable of undertaking an epic poem. In that ſpirit, he ſet about writing his Alcander this year; and the performance, as might be expected, was a glaring proof of his childiſh folly. However, he had either ſenſe or modeſty enough, or both, to keep it in his ſtudy; and in his riper years ſpoke of it with a frankneſs and ingenuity that more than atones for the forwardneſs of his attempt.

"I confeſs (ſays he) there was a time when I was in love with myſelf; and my firſt productions were the children of ſelf-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem, and panegyrics upon all the princes; and I thought myſelf the greateſt genius that ever was. I cannot but regret theſe delightful viſions of my childhood,

hood, which, like the fine colours we ſee when our eyes are ſhut, are vaniſhed for ever."

In the following year, 1704, he entered upon a taſk more ſuited to his age. This was his paſtorals, which brought him into the acquaintance of ſome of the moſt eminent wits of that time. He communicated theſe firſt to Mr. Wycherley, who was highly pleaſed with them, and ſent a copy to Mr. Walſh, author of ſeveral ingenious pieces, both in proſe and verſe.

This introduced him to the acquaintance of that gentleman, who proved a very ſincere friend to him; and having immediately diſcerned that our poet's chief talent lay not ſo much in ſtriking out new thoughts of his own, as in improving thoſe which he borrowed from the ancients, and an eaſy verſification, told him, among other things, that there was one way left open for him to excel his predeceſſors, and that was correctneſs; obſerving, that though we had ſeveral great poets, yet none of them were correct; he therefore adviſed him to make that his ſtudy.

The advice was not loſt: Mr. Pope received it very gratefully, and obſerved it very diligently, as appears by the ſubſequent letters in this correſpondence; and no doubt the diſtinguiſhing harmony of his numbers was in a great meaſure owing to it.

This year, 1704, he wrote alſo the firſt part of his "Windſor Foreſt," though the whole was not publiſhed till 1710, with a dedication to Lord Lanſdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earlieſt acquaintance; and beſides thoſe already named, he adds Bolingbroke, Congreve, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as perſons with whom he was not only converſant, but beloved, at ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age; an early period for ſuch acquaintance.

The circumſtance of our author's writing the firſt part of this poem ſo early as 1704, furniſhes no bad apology for the general fault charged upon it; few

images, it is ſaid, are introduced, which are not equally applicable to any place whatſoever.

No part of our bard's life is more intereſting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendſhips, eſpecially with his brother-poets. At the age of eighteen he was grown ſo high in the eſteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of correcting his poems (which had been damned), ſo as they might appear again in print. Pope complied with the requeſt, and executed it with equal freedom and judgment. But the faults proved too many for the author of them to be told of; he was old, became jealous, and conſtrued his young editor's ingenuity and plain-dealing into want of reſpect. Not only the deſign of publiſhing was dropped, but all correſpondence with the corrector ſuſpended.

This ungenerous treatment was reſented by Pope; and though Wycherley was prevailed with afterwards, by the mediation of a common friend, to reſume the correſpondence, yet this went no farther than bare complaiſance. However, ſome time after Mr. Wycherley's death, his poems being republiſhed by ſome mercenary hand in 1728, our author, the following year, printed ſeveral letters that had paſſed between them, in vindication of Mr. Wycherley's reputation as a poet, againſt ſome miſconſtructions prefixed to that edition.

Mr. Pope's conduct, throughout this whole trying affair, was greatly above his years; but, young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conſpicuouſly in his "Eſſay on Criticiſm;" which, though written ſo early as 1708, yet placed him in the firſt rank of poets. It is indeed eſteemed a maſter-piece in its kind, and diſcovered the peculiar turn of his genius. He was not yet twenty years old; ſo that every body ſtood amazed to find ſuch a knowledge of the world, ſuch a maturity of judgment, and ſuch a penetration into human nature, as are there diſplayed; inſomuch that it became a ſubject for the critics to diſplay their profoundeſt ſkill

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in accounting for it. The greateſt geniuſes in painting, as well as poetry, were generally obſerved not to have produced any of their maſter-pieces before the age of thirty, or thereabouts; and that Mr. Pope's genius ripened earlier was owing, it is ſaid, to a happy conjuncture of concurring circumſtances. He was fortunately ſecured from falling into the debaucheries of women and wine (the too frequent bane of hopeful youth) by the weakneſs and delicacy of his conſtitution, and the bad ſtate of his health. The ſenſual vices were too violent for ſo tender a frame; he never fell into intemperance or diſſipation, which is of the greateſt conſequence in preſerving each faculty of the mind in due vigour. Even his miſhapen figure is alledged to have been of uſe to him as a writer.

It is an obſervation of lord Bacon, that whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his perſon that induces contempt, hath alſo a perpetual ſpur within to reſcue and deliver himſelf from it. Hence it has been thought not improbable, that our poet might be animated by this circumſtance to double his diligence, to make himſelf diſtinguiſhed by the rectitude of his underſtanding, and beautiful turn of mind, as much as he was by the deformity of his body.

It was another circumſtance, equally propitious to the ſtudies of Pope, in this early part of his life, that he inherited a fortune that was a decent competency, and ſufficient to ſupply the ſmall expences which, both by conſtitution and reflection, he required.

But even the merit of the "Eſſay on Criticiſm" was ſurpaſſed by his "Rape of the Lock." The former indeed excelled in the didactic ſtyle, for which he was peculiarly formed; a clear head and ſtrong ſenſe being his characteriſtical qualities: his chief force lay in the underſtanding, rather than in the imagination: but it is the creative power of the laſt that conſtitutes the proper characteriſtic of poetry; and therefore it is in the "Rape of the Lock" that Pope principally appears

pears a poet; ſince in this performance he has diſplayed more imagination than in all his other works put together.

The poem took its birth from an incidental quarrel that happened between two noble families, that of lord Petre and Mrs. Fermor, both of our author's acquaintance, and of the ſame religion. His lordſhip, in a party of pleaſure, ventured to cut off a favourite lock of the lady's hair. This, though done in the way of gallantry, was ſeriouſly reſented, as being indeed a real injury. Hence there preſently grew mutual animoſities, which being ſeen with concern by a common friend to all, that friend requeſted Pope to try the power of his muſe on the occaſion; intimating, that a proper piece of ridicule was the likelieſt means to extinguiſh the riſing flame. Pope readily complied with this friendly propoſal, and, the juncture requiring diſpatch, his firſt deſign was completed in leſs than a fortnight; which being ſent to the lady, had more than the propoſed effect. Pleaſed to the higheſt degree with the delicacy of the compliment paid to her, ſhe firſt communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and then prevailed with our author to print it: which he did, though not without the caution of concealing his name to ſo haſty a ſketch. But the univerſal applauſe which the ſketch met with put him upon enriching it with the machinery of the Sylphs; and in that new dreſs the two cantoes extended to five came out the following year, 1712, accompanied by a letter to Mrs. Fermor, to whom he afterwards addreſſed another, which is eſteemed far ſuperior to any of Voiture; and it is here given to our readers, as a ſpecimen of our poet's epiſtolary ſtyle:

"To Mrs. Arabella Fermor, after her marriage.

"MADAM,

"You are ſenſible, by this time, how much the tenderneſs of one man of merit is to be preferred to the addreſſes of a thouſand; and by this time the gentleman

man you have made choice of is ſenſible, how great is the joy of having all thoſe charms and good qualities, which have pleaſed ſo many, now applied to pleaſe one only. It was but juſt, that the ſame virtues which gave you reputation ſhould give you happineſs; and I can wiſh you no greater than that you may reap it to as high a degree as ſo much good nature muſt give it to your huſband.

"It may be expected, perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit ſhould ſay ſomething more polite upon this occaſion; but I am really more a well-wiſher to your felicity, than a celebrater of your beauty. Beſides, you are now a married woman, and in a fair way to be a great many better things than a fine lady; ſuch as, an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and at laſt, as the conſequence of them all, a ſaint in heaven. You ought now to hear nothing but that which is all that you ever deſired to hear, whatever others have ſpoken to you, I mean truth; and it is with the utmoſt that I aſſure you, no friend you have can more rejoice in any good that befals you, is more ſenſibly delighted with the proſpect of your future happineſs, or more unfeignedly deſires a long continuance of it.

"I hope you will think it but juſt, that a man, who will certainly be ſpoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happineſs, while he is living, to be eſteemed, Yours, &c."

This letter is ſometimes annexed to the poem, and not injudiciouſly, as it renders the entertainment complete, in the happy marriage of the heroine.

This year he alſo publiſhed his "Temple of Fame;" having, according to his uſual caution, kept it two years in his ſtudy.

It likewiſe appears from one of his letters, that he had now begun to tranſlate Homer's Iliad, and made a good progreſs in it; and in 1713, he circulated propoſals for publiſhing that tranſlation by ſubſcription.

He had been preſſed to this undertaking ſome years before by ſome of his friends, and was now greatly encouraged in the deſign by others. His religious principles diſqualified him from receiving any ſolid teſtimony of his merit in the uſual way, of a place at court. Common prudence, therefore, prompted him to make the beſt advantage he could of the reputation he had obtained by his poetic talents, and to try to raiſe an independent fortune by it. The ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; he acquired a conſiderable fortune, by a ſubſcription ſo large, that it does honour to the kingdom. As he was attentive to every means that might render his tranſlation more perfect, he took a journey, a little before the death of queen Anne, to Oxford, to conſult ſome books in the Bodleian and other libraries in that univerſity; and the firſt part of his tranſlation was publiſhed the following year.

This gave great ſatisfaction; ſo that his finances were now put in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, that he reſolved to place himſelf nearer his friends in the capital. In that view, the ſmall eſtate at Binfield being ſold, he purchaſed a houſe at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother, before the expiration of the year 1715. He calls this one of the grand æras of his days; and the taſte he diſplayed in improving the ſeat became the object of admiration.

While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleaſure he took in it, by communicating it to his friends.

"The young ladies (ſays he, in a letter to Mr. Blount) may be aſſured, that I make nothing new in my gardens, without wiſhing to ſee them print their fairy ſteps in every corner of them. I have put the laſt hand to my works of this kind, in happily finiſhing the ſubterraneous way (from his houſe to his garden, under the high road which ſeparated them) and grotto. I there found a ſpring of the cleareſt water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day

day and night. From the river Thames you ſee through my arch, up a walk of the wilderneſs to a kind of open temple, wholly compoſed of ſhells, in the ruſtic manner; and from that diſtance, under the temple, you look down through a ſloping arcade of trees, and ſee ſails on the river ſuddenly appearing and vaniſhing as through a perſpective glaſs. When you ſhut the door of this grotto, it becomes on the inſtant, from a luminous room, a *camera obſcura;* on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their viſible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different ſcene. It is finiſhed with ſhells, interſperſed with pieces of looking-glaſs in angular forms; and in the cieling is a ſtar of the ſame materials; at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure, of thin alabaſter, is hung in the middle, a thouſand pointed rays glitter, and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto, by a narrower paſſage, two porches, one towards the river, of ſmooth ſtones, full of light and open; the other towards the garden, ſhadowed with trees, and rough with ſhells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with ſimple pebble, as is alſo the adjoining walk up the wilderneſs to the temple, in the natural taſte, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur, and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good ſtatue, with an inſcription like that beauteous pictureſque one which you know I am ſo fond of.

Hujus nympha loci, ſacri cuſtodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandæ ſentio murmur aquæ:
Parce meum, quiſquis tangis cava marmora, ſomnum
Rumpere; ſeu bibas, ſive lavere, tace.

Nymph of the grot, theſe ſacred ſprings I keep,
And to the murmur of theſe waters ſleep.
Ah! ſpare my ſlumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in ſilence, or in ſilence lave.

"You'll

"You'll think I have been very poetical in this deſcription, but it is pretty nearly the truth."

This letter was written in 1725: he afterwards wrote a poem upon it in a peculiar caſt and kind: and Dr. Warburton informs us, that the improving this grotto was the favourite amuſement of his declining years; ſo that, not long before his death, by enlarging and incruſting it about with a vaſt number of ores and minerals of the richeſt and rareſt kinds, he had made it one of the moſt elegant and romantic retirements that is any where to be ſeen.

"And (adds that writer), the beauty of his poetic genius, in the diſpoſition and ornaments of thoſe romantic materials, appeared to as much advantage as in any of his beſt contrived poems."

His father ſurvived his removal to Twickenham only two years, dying ſuddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of ſeventy-five. He was buried at Twickenham, where his ſon erected a handſome monument to his memory, with an inſcription, celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. As he was a Roman Catholic, he could not purchaſe, nor put his money to intereſt on real ſecurity; and as he adhered to the intereſt of king James, he made it a point of conſcience not to lend it to the new government; ſo that, though he was worth near twenty thouſand pounds when he left off buſineſs at the Revolution; yet afterwards, from the ſame principles, living upon the ſtock, he left our poet to the management of ſo narrow a fortune, that any one falſe ſtep would have been fatal.

The old gentleman had ſometimes recommended to our author, in his earlieſt years, the ſtudy of phyſic, as the beſt means of repairing that waſte of property which, from his own principles, was rendered unavoidable. But this muſt have gone no further than a ſimple propoſal, ſince we are aſſured by the ſon, that he broke no duty, nor diſobeyed either parent, in following the profeſſion of a poet; and his father had the ſatisfaction

tisfaction of living long enough to ſee him in a ſure way of making a genteel fortune by it.

In fact, want of a due attention to this neceſſary point was not of the number of Pope's foibles; on the contrary, we find him taking all opportunities to puſh it to the utmoſt. In this diſpoſition, not ſatisfied with the golden tide that was continually flowing in from his tranſlation, he publiſhed, in 1717, a collection of all the poetical pieces he had written before; in which regard to his fortune had undeniably a conſiderable ſhare. With the ſame view, he gave a new edition of Shakeſpeare; which being publiſhed in 1721, diſcovered that he had conſulted his intereſt in the undertaking more than his fame.

The Iliad being finiſhed, he engaged for a conſiderable ſum to undertake the Odyſſey; and that work being completed in 1725, the following year was employed, in concert with his aſſociates, Dean Swift and Dr. Arbuthnot, in printing ſeveral volumes of miſcellanies.

About this time he narrowly eſcaped loſing his life as he was returning home in a friend's chariot, which, on paſſing a bridge, happened to be overturned, and thrown with the horſes into the river. The glaſſes were up, and he not able to break them; ſo that he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the poſtilion, who had juſt recovered himſelf, came to his relief, broke the glaſs which was uppermoſt, took him out, and carried him to the bank: but a fragment of the broken glaſs cut one of his hands ſo deſperately, that he loſt the uſe of two of his fingers.

He had now ſecured to himſelf a comfortable competency, and a ſtate of eaſe and independence: his next care was to ſecure his literary fame from all future attacks, by ſilencing his envious rivals; and having accompliſhed this, in his admirable poem, intituled "The Dunciad," that ſatire came out in the year 1727, in 4to.

He

He ſomewhere obſerves, that the life of an author is a ſtate of warfare; and he has, in this attack, or, rather ſeries of attacks, ſhewed himſelf a complete general in the art of this kind of war. Our poet ſtated, that he had borne the inſults of his enemies full ten years before he hazarded a general battle; he was all that while climbing the hills of Parnaſſus: during which he could not forbear ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes; and the ſucceſs of theſe was of uſe, in ſhewing him his ſuperior ſtrength, and thereby adding confidence to his courage; but he was now ſeated ſafely on the ſummit; beſides he had obtained what, in his own opinion, is the happieſt end of life, the love of valuable men: and the next felicity, he declares, was to get rid of fools and ſcoundrels; to which end, after having, by ſeveral affected marches and counter marches, brought the whole army of them into his power, he ſuddenly fell upon them with a pen as irreſiſtible as the ſword of Michael the Archangel, and made an abſolutely univerſal ſlaughter of them, ſuffering not a ſingle ſoul to eſcape his fury.

The poem cautiouſly made its firſt appearance as a maſked-battery, in Ireland; nor indeed was the triumph completed without the aſſiſtance of our author's undoubted ſecond, dean Swift, who having furniſhed it with ſome exquiſitely wrought materials, a pompous edition was printed at London in 1728.

This edition was preſented to the king and queen by Sir Robert Walpole, who probably at this time offered to procure Mr. Pope a penſion; which he refuſed with the ſame ſpirit as he had formerly done an offer of the ſame kind made him by lord Halifax; which ſpirit of our author, in declining this offer of Sir Robert's, ſeems to be expreſſed in a letter of his, about this time, to his friend dean Swift.

"I was once before (ſays he) diſpleaſed at you for complaining to Mr. ——— of my not having a penſion; I am ſo again at your naming it to a certain lord.

lord. I have given proof, in the courſe of my life, from the time when I was in the friendſhip of lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Craggs, even to this time, when I am civilly treated by Sir Robert Walpole, that I never thought myſelf ſo warm in any party's cauſe as to deſerve their money, and therefore would never have accepted it. I deſire you to take off any impreſſions which that dialogue may have left upon his lordſhip's mind, as if I had any thoughts of being beholden to him, or any other, in that way."

One of the proofs here intimated, was the refuſal he had given, many years before, to an offer of the ſame kind by lord Halifax, as appears by a letter to that lord as early as the year 1714; where he writes in theſe terms:

"My Lord,

"I am obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and for thoſe which you intend me. I diſtruſt neither your will, nor your memory, when it is to do good; and if ever I become troubleſome or ſolicitous, it muſt not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude. It is, indeed, a high ſtrain of generoſity in you, to think of making me eaſy all my life, only becauſe I have been ſo happy as to divert you a few hours; but if I may have leave to add, it is becauſe you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reaſon; for I muſt of conſequence be very much, as I ſincerely am,

"Yours, &c."

It is alſo well known, that Mr Craggs, in 1710, gave him a ſubſcription for one hundred pounds in the South Sea fund, of which he made no manner of uſe.

As theſe offers muſt be underſtood to be made in the view of taking him off from his attachments to his friends, his refuſal of them are ſo many illuſtrious proofs of his ſteadineſs in that point. Yet he declares, in a letter

ter to Dr. Swift, that he had perſonal obligations, which he would ever preſerve, to men of different ſides.

In 1729, our poet, with equal prudence and piety, purchaſed an annuity of one hundred pounds for his own and his mother's life.

The ſame year, by the advice of lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to ſubjects of morality; and accordingly we find him, with the aſſiſtance of that friend, at work this year, upon his "Eſſay on Man." The following extract of a letter to dean Swift diſcovers the reaſon of his lordſhip's advice.

"Bid him (Pope) talk to you of the work he is about, I hope in good earneſt; it is a fine one, and will be in his hands an original. His ſole complaint is, that he finds it too eaſy in the execution. This flatters his lazineſs. It flatters my judgment, who always thought, that, univerſal as his talents are, this is eminently and peculiarly his, above all the writers I know, living or dead; I do not except Horace."

Pope tells the dean, in the next letter, what this work was:

"The work he (Bolingbroke) ſpeaks of with ſuch abundant partiality, is a ſyſtem of Ethics, in the Horatian way."

In another letter, written probably in the entrance of the following year, we ſee the general aim which at leaſt he wiſhed might be attributed to this work:

"I am juſt now writing, or rather planning, a book to bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort and pleaſure; and put morality in good humour."

This ſubject was exactly ſuited to his genius; he found the performance eaſy to a degree that ſurpriſed himſelf; and he thereupon employed his leiſure hours in purſuing the ſame deſign in his Ethic Epiſtles, which came out ſeparately in the courſe of the two following years. But a great clamour was raiſed againſt the fourth of theſe epiſtles, addreſſed to lord Bolingbroke, upon taſte; and the character of Timon in it gave great

great offence. The deſcription was too plain not to be known who was pointed at; and the late duke of Chandos, it is ſaid, wrote to our author in ſuch a manner as made him ſenſible that he ought to have confined himſelf to a fictitious character.

Mr. Pope, we are told, began to wiſh he had not carried the matter ſo far; but there was no receeding; all he could do was to palliate the buſineſs; and this was done in a letter by Mr. Cleland, to Mr. Gay, in December 1731. But this letter was not ſatisfactory, nor yet the one he wrote to the duke, profeſſing his innocence.

All this while he had the pleaſure to ſee the epiſtle ſell ſo rapidly, that it went through the preſs a third time very ſoon. Thereupon, in high ſpirits, he publiſhed a letter to lord Burlington, the March following; wherein, having taken notice of the clamour which, he ſays, through malice and miſtake, ſtill continued, he expreſſes his reſentment of this uſage, diſavows any deſign againſt the duke, makes him ſeveral high compliments, and then proceeds thus:

"Certainly the writer deſerved more candour, even in thoſe who know him not, than to promote a report, which, in regard to that noble perſon, was impertinent; in regard to me, villainous.

"I have taken (continues he) an opportunity of the third edition, to declare his belief not only of my innocence, but of their malignity: of the former of which my heart is as conſcious, as I fear ſome of theirs muſt be of the latter; his humanity feels a concern for the injury done to me, while his greatneſs of mind can bear with indifference the inſult offered to himſelf."

After this, he concludes with threatening to make uſe of real names, not fictitious ones, in his enſuing works; and how far he carried that menace into execution will preſently be ſeen; for the complaints which were made againſt this epiſtle by ſome ſecret enemies put him upon writing ſatires, in which he ven-

tured to attack the characters of ſome perſons of high rank; and the affront was reſented in ſuch a manner, as provoked him to let looſe the whole fury of his ſatirical rage againſt them, which was poured forth in proſe and verſe.

In the firſt ſatire of the ſecond book of Horace, he had deſcribed lord Hervey and lady Mary Wortly Montague ſo characteriſtically under the names of lord Fanny and Sappho, that theſe two noble perſonages did not only take up the ſame weapons againſt the aggreſſor, but uſed all their intereſt among the nobility, and even with the king and queen, to hurt him.

This laſt injury was what Pope complained of moſt; and, for that reaſon, the letter which he wrote in anſwer to it was ſhewn to her majeſty as ſoon as it was finiſhed.

After this he continued writing ſatires till the year 1739, when he entertained ſome thoughts of undertaking an epic poem; which, however, proved abortive. He has told us in the epilogue, the reaſon of his laying down his pen on ſatirical ſubjects; and he gave the true one for laying down his moral eſſays long before to Dr. Swift.

"I am (ſays he) almoſt at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit; my ſyſtem is a ſhort one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a ſphere in which you may move on to eternity; but where one is confined to truth, or, to ſpeak more like human creatures, to the appearance of truth, we ſoon find the ſhortneſs of our tether."

In the interim, ſeveral of his familiar letters having ſtole into the world without his privity, he publiſhed a genuine collection of them in 1737. The ſurreptitious edition is ſaid to have been obtained in the following manner: Pope held a correſpondence with Mr. Cromwell, whoſe miſtreſs ſtole ſome of our poet's letters to that gentleman, and ſold them to Edmund Curl, the noted piratical bookſeller, who making uſe of theſe as incitements,

incitements, by ſhewing them to gentlemen with whom Pope likewiſe correſponded, they thought it was doing him no injury to communicate other letters to Curl, not knowing how he came by the firſt.

It was about this time that the ill ſtate of Pope's health having frequently drawn him to Bath, he could not long remain unknown to Mr. Allen, who reſided near that place, and was ſo much pleaſed with the letters of our poet, as to ſeek an opportunity of forming a friendſhip with their author; the reſult of which was, his acquaintance with Mr. Warburton, afterwards biſhop of Glouceſter, who tells us, he had, before the commencement of this intimacy, written his Commentary upon the Art of Criticiſm, as alſo on the Eſſay on Man.

One complaint againſt that eſſay was its obſcurity; which our author had been told of by his friend dean Swift.

But this was comparatively a ſmall fault; the author was alſo charged with having laid a plan of deiſm; and a French tranſlation by the Abbé Reſnel having appeared at Paris in 1738, Mr. Crouſaz, a German profeſſor animadverted upon this ſyſtem of ethics, which he repreſented as nothing elſe but a ſyſtem of fataliſm. It was againſt this objector that Mr. Warburton firſt entered the liſts in defence of Pope, in theſe Commentaries; and Mr. Pope, in a letter to him on this occaſion, acknowledges the obſcurity of his piece.

"You have (ſays he) made my ſyſtem as clear as I ought to have done, and could not; you underſtand me as well as I do myſelf, but you expreſs me better than I expreſs myſelf." And in a ſubſequent letter, upon the ſame ſubject, he goes ſtill further: "You underſtand my work (ſays he) better than I do myſelf."

Mr. Warburton's Commentary being thus approved, the Eſſay on Man was re-publiſhed therewith in 1740. But it appears, from theſe acknowledgments of Mr.

Pope, as if lord Bolingbroke, who confeſſedly furniſhed the matter of the eſſay, had put more into our author's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend. This edition, with the Comment, was tranſlated into French, by a gentleman belonging to Monſ. Cromby, an ambaſſador. Mr. Pope deſired his friend Warburton to procure a good tranſlation of the Eſſay on Man into Latin proſe, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a ſpecimen which was ſent to our author, not happening to pleaſe him, that deſign proved abortive.

It was alſo at the inſtance of Mr. Warburton, that our author added a fourth book to the Dunciad; which was printed ſeparately in the year 1742.

About the time that Pope acquainted his laſt mentioned friend with his deſign to add this book to the three former of the Dunciad, they went together to Oxford, where Mr. Pope had the compliment made to him of an offer of a doctor's degree in law; which he chooſing to wave, went further weſt to viſit ſome friends, leaving his fellow-traveller in the univerſity, who ſtaying there a day longer to viſit his friend Dr. John Conybeare, dean of Chriſtchurch, received a meſſage that day from the vice-chancellor, by a perſon of eminence in the univerſity, with the like compliment, to know if a doctor's degree in divinity would be acceptable to him. This offer was received in a very different manner from the former to Mr. Pope. But it proved to be a mere compliment, the makers of it being, as it ſeems, miſtaken in imagining, that one friend would not chooſe to be honoured with a degree without the other; ſo that, when the congregation met for the purpoſe, the grace paſſed in the negative.

This affront was warmly reſented by Mr. Warburton: but he had ſufficient amends made to him for it by Dr. Thomas Herring, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who conferred that degree upon him not long after.

In the courſe of the following year, the whole poem

of

of the Dunciad came out together, as a ſpecimen of a more correct edition of his works, which he had then reſolved to give to the public: and he made ſome progreſs in that deſign, but did not live to complete it.

He had all his life been ſubject to an habitual headach, and that complaint, which was hereditary, his mother having been always ſubject to it, was now greatly increaſed by a dropſy in his breaſt, under which he expired on the thirtieth of May, 1744, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

His body was depoſited, purſuant to his own requeſt, in the ſame vault with thoſe of his parents, to whoſe memory he had erected a monument, with an inſcription written by himſelf. It is as follows, but in capital characters:

D. O. M.
Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probo, pio,
Qui vixit an. 75. ob. 1717.
Et Edithæ conjugi, inculpabili, pientiſſimæ,
Quæ vixit annos 93. ob. 1733.
Parentibus bene merentibus
Filius fecit.
Et ſibi. Obiit an. 1744. ætatis 56.

This laſt line was added after his death, in conformity to his will; the reſt was done on the death of his parents.

Not long before his death, he made his will; in which he conſtituted Miſs Blount his teſtamentary-heir during her life; and among other legacies, he bequeathed to Dr. Warburton the property of ſuch of his works already printed as he had written, or ſhould write, commentaries upon, and had not been otherwiſe diſpoſed of, or alienated; with this condition, that they were publiſhed without future alterations.

After he had made his will, he wrote this legatee

a letter; in which, having informed him of his legacy, he ſays,

"I own the late incroachments upon my conſtitution make me willing to ſee the end of all further care about me, or my works. I would reſt for the one, in a full reſignation of my being to be diſpoſed of by the Father of all Mercies; and for the other, though, indeed a trifle, yet a trifle may be ſome example, I would commit them to the candour of a ſenſible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every ſhort-ſighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and cenſorious reader; and no head can ſet them in ſo clear a light, or ſo well turn their beſt ſide to the day, as your own."

In diſcharge of this truſt, that gentleman gave a complete edition, in 1751, of all Mr. Pope's Works, executed in ſuch a manner as he was perſuaded, would have been to the author's ſatisfaction.

The elegance of this edition is very commendable; and it is not to be doubted, but that the author's deſign, as to the collection, is faithfully obſerved, as far as it could be done. How far the editor's privilege in writing notes extended, is only known to himſelf. Several, inſerted in the firſt edition, were left out in the ſecond: but ſtill ſeveral were retained, which contain ſevere, not to ſay ill-natured, reflections upon the author's deareſt friends. Theſe have not eſcaped deſerved cenſure.

It is ſaid, that allowing the remarks to be juſt, yet the inſerting them in his works muſt either be an injury to his will, or leave his moral character indefenſible. One of theſe gives room to ſuſpect this laſt to be the caſe, with regard to theſe friends.

In the 84th letter of the 9th volume, Mr. Pope expreſſes himſelf to that old friend, dean Swift, thus:

"You aſk me if I have got any ſupply of new friends to make up for them that are gone; I think that impoſſible: but as, when the continual waſhing of a river takes

away our flowers and plants, it throws weeds and ſedges in their *room*; ſo the courſe of time brings us ſomething, as it deprives us of a great deal, and, inſtead of leaving us what we cultivated, and expected to flouriſh and adorn us, give us only what is of ſome little uſe by accident. Thus I have acquired—But I had my heart hardened, and blunt to new impreſſions. Adieu. I can ſay no more, I feel ſo much."

To the word room we ſee the following note:

"There are ſome ſtrokes in this letter, which can no otherwiſe be accounted for than by the author's extreme compaſſion and tenderneſs of heart, too much affected by the complaints of a peeviſh old man, labouring and impatient under his infirmities, and too intent on the friendly office of mollifying them."

The editor, we ſee, attributes theſe expreſſions of the author's love to an extremity of compaſſion, that is to weakneſs; but it is a very pardonable one, as long as we don't know them to be inconſonant to ſome other warm expreſſions of affection to any of his new friends, which may well be ſuppoſed to be the caſe at the time of his writing this letter, that is, before he knew Dr. Warburton, or wrote thoſe letters to him that are printed in this volume; wherein, if the expreſſions are ſincere, it cannot be denied that our author had changed his heart a little, ſince the time of his writing the letter here cited to dean Swift. Be that as it will; lord Orrery very juſtly diſliked the continual complimenting turn of theſe letters; and thoſe that have been ſince added by Dr. Warburton could give him no reaſon to like them better on that account.

Mr. Pope's quarrel with Colley Cibber, which occaſioned ſeveral indecent altercations between them from the preſs; and lord Bolingbroke's charge of treachery, brought againſt him in an advertiſement prefixed to a tract publiſhed by the noble lord in 1749; we have omitted, as tedious, uninſtructive, and involved in controverſy; but the reader who wiſhes to know more of the

the perſon, character, and writings, of this excellent poet, will find ample ſatisfaction in peruſing an admirable eſſay on this ſubject, by the learned Dr. Warton, in two volumes, 8vo. and alſo in the life of Pope, by the late Owen Ruffhead, Eſq. Our limits neceſſarily oblige us to be conciſe in drawing characters; and, as we cannot find a more elegant model in the preſent inſtance than that of lord Orrery, inſerted in his Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dean Swift, we ſhall make no apology for concluding in his lordſhip's words:

"If we may judge of him by his works, his chief aim was to be eſteemed a man of virtue. His letters are written in that ſtyle; his laſt volumes are all of the moral kind; he has avoided trifles, and conſequently has eſcaped a rock which has proved very injurious to Dr. Swift's reputation. He has given his imagination full ſcope, and yet has preſerved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The conſtitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and reſerve. The treatment which he met with afterwards, from an innumerable tribe of adverſaries, confirmed this habit, and made him ſlower than the dean in pronouncing his judgment upon perſons and things. His proſe writings are little leſs harmonious than his verſe; and his voice, in common converſation, was ſo naturally muſical, that I remember honeſt Tom Southern uſed to call him, the Little Nightingale. His manners were eaſy, delicate, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a politeneſs that charmed, and a generoſity that was much to his honour. Every gueſt was made happy within his doors, pleaſure dwelt under his roof, and elegance preſided at his table."

THE

THE LIFE OF

DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

[A. D. 1667, to 1745.]

JONATHAN SWIFT, one of the moſt ſingular characters of the age, was the ſon of Mr. Jonathan Swift, an attorney, by Mrs. Abigail Erick, and was born at Dublin in 1667. His father died while his mother was pregnant of him, and left her in diſtreſſed circumſtances, having for her whole ſupport only an annuity of 20l. per annum. Grief, and a bad ſtate of health, prevented his mother from ſuckling him; and when he was about a year old, the nurſe, to whoſe care he had been committed, being obliged to croſs the ſea to viſit a ſick relation at Whitehaven, in England, her affection for the child was ſo ſtrong, that, unable to reſolve to part with him, ſhe conveyed him on ſhip-board without the knowledge of his mother or relations, and kept him with her during her reſidence three years at that place.

From this circumſtance many of his friends imagined him to be a native of England; and others ſuppoſed him to be the natural ſon of Sir William Temple. Neither of theſe ſuggeſtions can be true; for although in his angry moods, when he was provoked at the ingratitude of the Iriſh, he was frequently heard to ſay, "I am not of this vile country; I am an Engliſhman;" yet, in his cooler hours, he never denied his country: on the contrary, he frequently mentioned, and pointed out, the houſe in which he was born.—The other ſuggeſtion, concerning the illegitimacy of his birth, is equally falſe. Sir William Temple was employed as a miniſter abroad from the year 1665 to the year 1670; ſo that Dr. Swift's mother,

who

who never croſſed the ſea, except from England to Ireland, was out of all poſſibility of a perſonal correſpondence with Sir William Temple, till ſome years after her ſon's birth.

The care of Swift's education was kindly undertaken by Mr. Godwin Swift, his uncle, a very eminent attorney at Dublin, who likewiſe took his mother and his ſiſter under his protection; and thus became a guardian to the family. When his nephew was ſix years of age, he ſent him to ſchool at Kilkenny; and about eight years afterwards, he entered him a ſtudent of Trinity-college in Dublin, where Swift lived in perfect regularity, and in an entire obedience to the ſtatutes: but the moroſeneſs of his temper often rendered him unacceptable to his companions; ſo that he was little regarded, and leſs beloved: nor were the academical exerciſes agreeable to his genius.

He held logic and metaphyſics in the utmoſt contempt; and he ſcarcely attended at all to mathematics and natural philoſophy, unleſs to turn them into ridicule.

The ſtudies which he chiefly followed were hiſtory and poetry, in which he made a great progreſs; but to other branches of ſcience he had given ſo very little application, that, when he appeared as a candidate for the degree of bachelor of arts, after having ſtudied four years, he was ſet aſide, on account of inſufficiency; and at laſt he obtained his admiſſion *ſpeciali gratia*, a phraſe which, in that univerſity, carries with it the utmoſt marks of reproach. Swift was fired with indignation at the treatment he had received in Ireland, and therefore reſolved to purſue his ſtudies at Oxford. However, that he might be admitted *ad eundem*, he was obliged to carry with him a teſtimonial of his degree. The expreſſion *ſpeciali gratia* is ſo peculiar to the univerſity of Dublin, that when Mr. Swift exhibited his teſtimonial at Oxford, the members of the Engliſh univerſity concluded, that the words *ſpeciali gratia* muſt ſignify

ſignify a degree conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence and learning. He was immediately admitted *ad eundem*, and entered himſelf of Hart-hall, now Hartford-college, where he conſtantly reſided (ſome viſits to his mother at Leiceſter, and to Sir William Temple at Moore-park, excepted) till he took his degree of maſter of arts, which was in the year 1691. And, in order to recover his loſt time, he now ſtudied eight hours daily for ſeven years.

In the year 1688, his uncle, Mr. Godwin Swift had fallen into a kind of lethargy, which deprived him by degrees of his ſpeech and memory, and rendered him totally incapable of being of the leaſt ſervice to his family.

But in this diſtreſſed ſituation, Sir William Temple (whoſe lady was related to Swift's mother) moſt generouſly ſtepped in to his aſſiſtance, and, from this time, avowedly ſupported his education at the univerſity of Oxford. Sir William Temple's friendſhip was afterwards unjuſtly conſtrued to proceed from a conſciouſneſs that he was his real father.

It ought not to be here omitted, that another of his father's brothers, Mr. William Swift, aſſiſted him when at Oxford by repeated acts of friendſhip and affection.

Swift, as ſoon as he had quitted the univerſity of Oxford, lived with Sir William Temple, as his friend and domeſtic companion. When he had been about two years with Sir William, he contracted a very long and dangerous illneſs, by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit. To this ſurfeit he has often been heard to aſcribe that giddineſs in his head, which, with intermiſſions ſometimes of a longer, and ſometimes of a ſhorter continuance, purſued him to the end of his life.

In compliance with the advice of phyſicians, when he was ſufficiently recovered to travel, he went to Ireland, to try the effects of his native air; but finding the greateſt benefit aroſe from the exerciſe of travelling, he followed his own inclination; he ſoon returned into England

England, and was again received in a moſt affectionate manner by Sir William Temple, who was then ſettled at Shene, where he was often viſited by king William.

Here Swift had frequent converſations with that prince, in ſome of which the king offered to make him a captain of horſe: which offer, in ſplenetic diſpoſitions, he always ſeemed ſorry to have refuſed; but at that time he had reſolved within his own mind to take orders; and during his whole life, his reſolutions, when once fixed, were ever after immoveable.

About this time he aſſiſted Sir William Temple in reviſing his works. He likewiſe corrected and improved his own "Tale of a Tub;" a ſketch of which he had drawn up while he was a ſtudent at Trinity-college, Dublin. Sir William's converſation naturally turned upon political ſubjects; and Swift improved the frequent opportunities he had of acquiring from this able ſtateſman a competent knowledge of public affairs. But, at length, he ſuſpected that Sir William neglected to provide for him, merely that he might keep him in his family; and he reſented this ſo warmly, that a quarrel enſued, and they parted in the year 1694, and he went to Ireland, where he took orders.

Sir William, however, notwithſtanding the differences between them, recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to lord Capel, then lord-deputy, who gave him a prebend, of which the income was about 100l. a-year. Swift ſoon grew weary of his preferment; it was not ſufficiently conſiderable, and was at ſo great a diſtance from the metropolis, that it abſolutely deprived him of that converſation and ſociety in which he delighted.

He had been uſed to very different ſcenes in England, and had naturally an averſion to ſolitude and retirement. He was glad therefore to reſign his prebend in favour of a friend, and to return to Shene, to Sir William Temple, who was ſo much pleaſed with his

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return, which he conſidered as an act of kindneſs to him in the cloſe of life, that a ſincere reconciliation took place; and they lived together in perfect harmony till the death of Sir William. By his will he left him a conſiderable legacy in money, and the care, truſt, and emolument of publiſhing his poſthumous works.

During Swift's reſidence with Sir William Temple, he became intimately acquainted with Miſs Johnſon, who was the daughter of Sir William Temple's ſteward, and who was afterwards ſo diſtinguiſhed, and ſo much celebrated, in Swift's works, by the name of Stella.

Soon after the death of Sir William, Swift came to London, and took the earlieſt opportunity of tranſmitting a memorial to king William, under the claim of a promiſe made by his majeſty to Sir William Temple, "that Mr. Swift ſhould have the firſt vacancy that happened among the prebends of Weſtminſter or Canterbury." The memorial had no effect; and indeed Swift himſelf afterwards declared, that he believed the king never received it.

After a long and fruitleſs attendance at Whitehall, Mr. Swift reluctantly gave up all thoughts of a ſettlement in England.

Another ſenſible mortification likewiſe determined him to quit this kingdom: he had dedicated Sir William Temple's Works to the king, which dedication was neglected; nor did his majeſty take the leaſt notice of him after Sir William's death.

He therefore complied with an invitation from the earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the lords juſtices in Ireland, to attend him as his chaplain and private ſecretary. Lord Berkeley landed at Waterford, and Mr. Swift acted as ſecretary during the whole journey to Dublin. But one Buſh, another of lord Berkeley's attendants, had by this time inſinuated himſelf into the earl's favour, and by his whiſperings, which were perhaps too attentively liſtened to, had perſuaded his lordſhip, that the poſt of ſecretary was improper for a clergyman

gyman, to whom only church-preferments could be ſuitable or advantageous. After ſome ſlight apology, owing to this ſelf-intereſted ſuggeſtion, Mr. Swift was diveſted of his office, which was given to Buſh.

This treatment was thought injurious, and Swift expreſſed his ſenſibility of it in a ſhort, but ſatirical copy of verſes, intituled, "The Diſcovery." However, during the government of the earls of Berkeley and Galway, who were jointly lords juſtices of Ireland, two livings, Laracor and Rathbeggan, were beſtowed upon Mr. Swift. Both theſe rectories together were worth about two hundred and ſixty pounds a-year, and were the only church-preferments he enjoyed till he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's, in the year 1713.

After Mr. Swift had taken poſſeſſion of his livings, he went to reſide at Laracor, and gave public notice to his pariſhioners, that he would read prayers once every Wedneſday and Friday. Upon the ſubſequent Wedneſday the bell was rung, and the rector attended in his deſk; when, after having ſat ſome time, and finding the congregation to conſiſt only of himſelf and his clerk Roger, he began with great compoſure and gravity, but with a turn peculiar to himſelf, "Dearly "beloved Roger, the ſcripture moveth you and me in "ſundry places," and proceeded regularly through the whole ſervice. This trifling circumſtance is only mentioned to ſhew, that he could not reſiſt a vein of humour whenever he had an opportunity of exerting it.

During his mother's life, who reſided at Leiceſter, he ſcarcely ever failed paying her an annual viſit. But his manner of travelling was as ſingular as any other of his actions. He often went in a waggon, but more frequently walked from Holyhead to Leiceſter, London, or any other part of England. He generally choſe to dine with waggoners, oſtlers, &c. and uſed to lodge in houſes where he found written over the door "Lodgings for a penny;" but he uſually bribed the maid with ſixpence

ſixpence for a ſeparate bed and clean ſheets. He delighted in ſcenes of low life; and the vulgar dialect was not only a fund of humour for him, but in all probability acceptable to his nature; otherwiſe, how are the many filthy ideas and indelicate expreſſions, that are found throughout his works to be accounted for?

In the year 1701, Swift took his doctor's degree; and towards the latter end of that year king William died.

On the acceſſion of queen Anne, Dr. Swift came to England. It cannot be denied, that the chief miniſters of that queen, whether diſtinguiſhed under the titles of Whigs or Tories, of High Church or of Low Church, were, from the beginning to the end of her reign, encouragers of learning, and patrons of learned men.

The wits of that æra were numerous and eminent. Amidſt the crowd, yet ſuperior to the reſt, appeared Dr. Swift. In a mixture of thoſe two jarring parties, called Whig and Tory, conſiſted the firſt miniſtry of queen Anne; but the greater ſhare of the adminiſtration was committed to the Whigs, who ſoon engroſſed the whole.

The queen, whoſe heart was naturally inclined towards the Tories, remained an unwilling priſoner ſeveral years to the Whigs, till Mr. Harley at length took her majeſty out of their hands; and, during the remainder of her life, ſurrounded her with a ſet of Tories, under the conduct of the duke of Ormond and himſelf.

Dr. Swift was known to the great men of each denomination; it is certain that he was bred up and educated with Whigs, at leaſt with ſuch as may be found ranged under that title. His motives for quitting Whiggiſm for Toryiſm appear throughout his works.

He had commenced political author in 1701, when he publiſhed a Diſcourſe on the Conteſts and Diſſen-

tions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Conſequences they had upon both States. This was written in defence of king William and his miniſters, againſt the violent proceedings in the houſe of commons.

But, from this time to the year 1708, lord Orrery informs us, he did not write any political pamphlet. From this year to 1710, he worked hard to undermine the Whigs, and to open a way for the Tories to come into power. His intimacy with lord Oxford commenced, as may be deduced from his works, in October 1710. In a poem written in 1713, he ſays,

'Tis (let me ſee) three years and more
(October next will make it four)
Since Harley bid me firſt attend,
And choſe me for an humble friend.

And again in another poem written in the ſame year,

My lord would carry on the jeſt,
And down to Windſor take his gueſt.
Swift much admires the place and air,
And longs to be a canon there.
A canon! that's a place too mean:
No, doctor, you ſhall be a dean.

By this laſt quotation, and by numberleſs other inſtances in his works, it ſeems undeniable, that a ſettlement in England was the conſtant object of Dr. Swift's ambition; ſo that his promotion to a deanery in Ireland was rather a diſappointment than a reward, as appears by many expreſſions in his letters to Mr. Gay and Mr. Pope.

The buſineſs which firſt introduced him to Mr. Harley was a commiſſion ſent to him by the primate of Ireland, to ſolicit the queen to releaſe the clergy of that kingdom from the twentieth-penny and firſt-fruits. As ſoon as he received the primate's inſtructions, he reſolved to wait on Mr. Harley; but before the firſt interview

interview, he took care to get himſelf repreſented as a perſon who had been ill-uſed by the laſt miniſtry, becauſe they would not go ſuch lengths as they would have had him. The new miniſter received him with open arms, ſoon after accompliſhed his buſineſs, bade him come often to ſee him privately, and told him, that he muſt bring him to the knowledge of Mr. St. John (lord Bolingbroke). Swift preſently became acquainted with the reſt of the miniſtry, who appear to have courted and careſſed him with uncommon aſſiduity.

From this æra, to the death of queen Anne, we find him fighting on the ſide of the miniſters and maintaining their cauſe in pamphlets, poems, and weekly papers. But, notwithſtanding his ſervices to the miniſtry, he remained without preferment till the year 1713, when he was made dean of St. Patrick's. In point of power and revenue, ſuch a deanery might appear no inconſiderable promotion; but to an ambitious mind, whoſe perpetual aim was a ſettlement in England, a dignity in any other kingdom muſt appear only an honourable and profitable baniſhment.

There is great reaſon to imagine, that the temper of Swift might occaſion his Engliſh friends to wiſh him happily and properly promoted at a diſtance. His ſpirit was ever untractable, the motions of his genius irregular. He aſſumed more the airs of a patron than a friend. He affected rather to dictate than adviſe; and was elated with the appearance of enjoying miniſterial confidence.

Reflections of this kind will account for his miſſing an Engliſh biſhoprick, a diſappointment which he imagined he owed to a joint application made againſt him to the queen by Dr. Sharp, then archbiſhop of York, and by a lady of the higheſt rank and character.

Archbiſhop Sharp, according to Dr. Swift's account, had repreſented him to the queen as a perſon who was not a Chriſtian; the great lady, the ducheſs of Somer-

ſet, had ſupported the aſperſion; and the queen, upon ſuch aſſurances, had given away the biſhoprick contrary to her firſt intentions. Swift kept himſelf indeed within ſome tolerable bounds when he ſpoke of the queen; but his indignation knew no limits when he mentioned the archbiſhop or the ducheſs.

Dr. Swift had little reaſon to rejoice in the land where his lot had fallen: for, upon his arrival in Ireland to take poſſeſſion of his deanery, he found the violence of party reigning in that kingdom to the higheſt degree. The common people were taught to look upon him as a Jacobite; and they proceeded ſo far in their deteſtation, as to throw ſtones at him as he paſſed through the ſtreets.

The chapter of St. Patrick's, like the reſt of the kingdom, received him with great reluctance. They thwarted him in every particular he propoſed. He was avoided as a peſtilence, oppoſed as an invader, and marked out as an enemy to his country. Such was his firſt reception as dean of St. Patrick's. Fewer talents, and leſs firmneſs, muſt have yielded to ſuch violent oppoſition. But ſo ſtrange are the revolutions of this world, that dean Swift, who was then the deteſtation of the Iriſh rabble, lived to govern them with an abſolute ſway.

The dean's firſt ſtep was to reduce to reaſon and obedience his reverend brethren of the chapter of St. Patrick's, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, and ſo ſpeedily, that in a ſhort time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the higheſt veneration.

Dr. Swift made no longer ſtay in Ireland, in the year 1713, than was requiſite to eſtabliſh himſelf a dean, and to paſs through certain cuſtoms, and formalities, or to uſe his own words,

——— *Through all vexations,*
Patents, inſtalments, abjurations,
Firſt-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats,
Dues, payments, fees, demands, and ——cheats.

That

During the time of theſe ceremonies, he kept a conſtant correſpondence with his friends in England: all of whom were eminent either in birth, ſtation, or abilities.

In the beginning of the year 1714, Dr. Swift returned to England. He found his great friends at the helm much diſunited among themſelves. He ſaw the queen declining in her health, and diſtreſſed in her ſituation. The part which he had to act upon this occaſion was not ſo difficult as it was diſagreeable: he exerted all his ſkill to reunite the miniſters.

As ſoon as Swift found his endeavours fruitleſs, he retired to a friend's houſe in Berkſhire, where he remained till the queen's death, an event which fixed the period of his views in England, and made him return as faſt as poſſible to his deanery in Ireland, oppreſſed with grief and diſcontent.

From the year 1714, till the year 1720, his ſpirit of politics and patriotiſm was kept cloſely confined within his own breaſt. His attendance upon the public ſervice of the church was regular and uninterrupted: and indeed regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the moſt trifling.

His works, from the year 1714 to the year 1720, are few in number, and of ſmall importance: Poems to Stella, and Trifles to Dr. Sheridan, fill up a great part of that period.

But during this interval, lord Orrery ſuppoſes, he employed his time in writing "Gulliver's Travels."—His mind was likewiſe fully occupied by an affecting private incident.

In 1713, he had formed an intimacy with a young lady in London, to whom he became a kind of preceptor; her real name was Vanbomrigh; and ſhe was the daughter of a Dutch merchant, who ſettled and died at Dublin. This lady was a great admirer of reading, and had a taſte for poetry; this increaſed her regard for Swift, till it grew till affection; and ſhe made him

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an offer of marriage, which he refuſed, and, upon this occaſion, he wrote his little poem of Cadenus and Vaneſſa. The young lady from this time was called Vaneſſa; and her mother dying in 1714, ſhe and her ſiſter followed the dean to Ireland, where he frequently viſited them, and he kept up a literary correſpondence with Vaneſſa; but, after his marriage with Stella in 1716, his viſits were leſs frequent, and Vaneſſa now again preſſed him to marry her; but he rallied her, and ſtill avoided a poſitive denial. At laſt he found himſelf obliged to write to her a letter, which is ſuppoſed to have contained the fatal ſecret of his marriage with Mrs. Johnſon; for the unhappy lady did not ſurvive it many weeks; but ſhe was ſufficiently compoſed to cancel a will which ſhe had made in favour of the dean, and to leave her whole fortune to her executors, Dr. Berkeley, the celebrated biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr. Marſhall, a counſellor at law.

In the year 1720, he began to reaſſume the character of a political writer. A ſmall pamphlet, in defence of the Iriſh manufactories, was ſuppoſed to be his firſt eſſay, in Ireland, in that kind of writing: and to that pamphlet he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour.

The pamphlet recommended the univerſal uſe of the Iriſh manufactures within the kingdom. Some little pieces of poetry to the ſame purpoſe were no leſs acceptable and engaging; nor was the dean's attachment to the true intereſt of Ireland any longer doubted. His patriotiſm was as manifeſt as his wit; he was looked upon with pleaſure, and reſpected as he paſſed through the ſtreets; and had attained to ſo high a degree of popularity, as to become the arbitrator in diſputes among his neighbours.

But the popular affection which the dean had hitherto acquired may be ſaid not to have been univerſal till the publication of the Drapier's Letters, in 1724, which made all ranks and profeſſions univerſal in his applauſe.

Theſe

Theſe letters were occaſioned by a patent having been obtained, by one William Wood, to coin 180,000l. of halfpence for the uſe of Ireland. The dean, in the character of a draper, wrote a ſeries of letters to the people, urging them not to receive this money; and Wood, though powerfuly ſupported, was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his money was totally ſuppreſſed.

Never was any name beſtowed with more univerſal approbation than the name of the Drapier was beſtowed upon the dean, who had no ſooner aſſumed it than he became the idol of Ireland, even to a degree of devotion; and bumpers were poured forth to the Drapier, as large and as frequent as to the glorious and immortal memory of king William III. Acclamations and vows for his proſperity attended him wherever he went, and his portrait was painted in every ſtreet in Dublin.

The dean was conſulted in all points relating to domeſtic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked on as the legiſlator of the weavers, who frequently came to him in a body to receive his advice in ſetting the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen.

When elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many of the companies refuſed to declare themſelves till they had conſulted his ſentiments and inclinations.

In 1727 died his beloved Stella, in the forty-fourth year of her age, regretted by the dean with ſuch exceſs of ſorrow as only the keeneſt ſenſibility could feel, and the moſt excellent character excite.

The ſingular conduct of this unaccountable humouriſt, it is thought, threw her into a decline, and ſhortened her days. After ſixteen years intimacy he married her: but he never cohabited with her, and was as cautious as ever

ever not to be ſeen in her company without a third perſon.

After the death of Stella his life became very retired, and the auſterity of his temper increaſed: his public days for receiving company were diſcontinued; and he even ſhunned the ſociety of his moſt intimate friends.

We have now conducted the dean through the moſt intereſting circumſtances of his life to the fatal period wherein he was utterly deprived of reaſon; a loſs which he often ſeemed to foreſee, and prophetically lamented to his friends. The total deprivation of his ſenſes came upon him by degrees.

In the year 1736, he was ſeized with a violent fit of giddineſs: he was at that time writing a ſatirical poem, called, The Legion Club; but he found the effects of his giddineſs ſo dreadful, that he left the poem unfiniſhed, and never afterwards attempted a compoſition of any length, either in verſe or proſe: however, his converſation ſtill remained the ſame, lively and ſevere; but his memory gradually grew worſe and worſe, and, as that decreaſed, he grew every day more fretful and impatient.

From the year 1739 to the year 1744, his paſſions grew ſo violent and ungovernable, his memory became ſo decayed, and his reaſon ſo depraved, that the utmoſt precautions were taken to prevent all ſtrangers from approaching him: for till then he had not appeared totally incapable of converſation.

Early in the year 1742, the ſmall remains of his underſtanding became entirely confuſed, and the violence of his rage increaſed abſolutely to a degree of madneſs.

In the month of October his left eye ſwelled to the ſize of a hen's egg, and ſeveral large boils broke out on his body; the extreme pain of which kept him awake near a month, and during one week it was with difficulty that five perſons reſtrained him, by mere force, from pulling out his own eyes. Upon the ſubſiding of theſe tumours, he knew thoſe about him; and appeared ſo

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far to have recovered his underſtanding and temper, that there were hopes he might once more enjoy ſociety. Theſe hopes, however, were but of ſhort duration: for, a few days afterwards, he ſunk into a ſtate of total inſenſibility, ſlept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk acroſs the room. This was the effect of another diſeaſe; his brain was loaded with water. After he had continued ſilent a whole year, in a ſtate of idiotiſm, his houſekeeper went into his room on the 30th of November 1743, and told him it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as uſual: to which he immediately replied, "It is all folly, they had better let it alone."

Some other inſtances of ſhort intervals of ſenſibility and reaſon, after his madneſs ended in a ſtupor, ſeem to prove, that his diſorder, whatever it was, had not deſtroyed, but only ſuſpended, his intellectual powers. In 1744, he now and then called his ſervant by name; and once attempting to ſpeak to him, but not being able to expreſs his meaning, he ſhewed ſigns of great uneaſineſs, and at laſt ſaid, "I am a fool." Once after this, his ſervant taking away his watch, he ſaid, "bring it here:" and as the ſame ſervant was breaking a large coal, he ſaid, "that is a ſtone, you blockhead:" theſe were the laſt words he pronounced: he now remained a miſerable ſpectacle of human weakneſs till the month of October, 1745, when, every power of nature being exhauſted, he ſunk into the arms of death, without thoſe apparent ſtruggles and agonies which are the efforts of remaining ſtrength.

Dr. Swift was often heard to lament the ſtate of childhood and idiotiſm to which ſome of the greateſt men of the nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned, as examples within his own time, the duke of Marlborough and lord Somers: and when he cited theſe melancholy inſtances, it was always with a heavy ſigh, and with great apparent uneaſineſs, as if he felt

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an impulſe of what was to happen to him before he died.

He left his whole fortune, which was about 12,000l. ſome few legacies excepted, to the building of an hoſpital for idiots and lunatics.

His works have been often printed, and in various forms. Some very good memoirs of his life have likewiſe appeared, particularly in the earl of Orrery's Remarks on his Life and Writings; in Dr. Delany's Obſervations on his Writings; in Mrs. Pilkington's Memoirs; and in the late Dr. Hawkeſworth's Life of the Dean, prefixed to his elegant editions of his works, which were publiſhed in 1754, in 6 vols. 4to. and in 12 vols. 8vo. Mr. Sheridan alſo publiſhed an edition of his works, with a life of him, in 1784. Some additional volumes of his works have alſo been publiſhed by Dean Swift, Eſq. and Mr. Nichols. The beſt edition of his works is in 14 vols. 4to. and there is alſo an edition in 25 vols. large 8vo. and in 27 vols. ſmall 8vo. Theſe are the principal authorities from whence we have ſelected our account of this extraordinary man.

It would be ſuperfluous to delineate a character ſo eaſy to be traced in every part of his works; which merit the attention of men of genius and taſte, and will afford them rational amuſement, though they ſhould find nothing to oblige them to ſtudy his compoſitions.

His remains were interred with great funeral pomp, with reſpect to the numerous attendants, conſiſting of the weavers, and a vaſt concourſe of other manufacturers and tradeſmen, who eagerly preſſed to pay this laſt duty to their patron.

They were depoſited in the great aiſle of the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, under a black marble ſtone, upon which was inſcribed the following Latin epitaph, written by himſelf, which marks as much as any thing the ſingular humour of the man.

Hic

Hic depoſitum eſt corpus
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
Hujus eccleſiæ cathedralis decani,
Ubi ſæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit.
Abi, viator, & imitare,
Si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicatorem.
Obiit, &c. &c.

THE LIFE OF

JAMES THOMSON.

[A. D. 1700, to 1748.]

THIS excellent poet was the ſon of a divine of the church of Scotland, and was born at Ednam, in the ſhire of Roxburgh, in the year 1700. He gave early proofs of a genius for poetry, which broke forth in his firſt puerile compoſitions: the rudiments of ſcholaſtic education he received at Jedburgh, from whence he was ſent to the univerſity of Edinburgh. In the ſecond year of his admiſſion, his ſtudies were greatly interrupted by the death of his father; but his mother, ſoon after this event, removed with her family, which was very numerous, to Edinburgh, where ſhe lived in a frugal manner till this her favourite ſon had not only finiſhed his academical ſtudies, but began to be diſtinguiſhed and patroniſed as a youth poſſeſſed of an extraordinary poetic vein. The ſtudy of poetry was become pretty general about this time in Scotland; but a juſt taſte, and true criticiſm, were yet wanting: they paid more regard to rigid rules and forms than to a lively imagination and genuine fire. Thomſon ſaw this, and therefore turned his thoughts to ſettling in London, in which reſolution he was confirmed ſoon after by the following incident:

The divinity-chair at Edinburgh was filled at this

time by profeſſor Hamilton, who preſcribed to our young poet, for the ſubject of an exerciſe, a pſalm, in which the power and majeſty of God are celebrated. Of this pſalm he gave a paraphraſe and illuſtration, as the nature of the taſk required, but in a ſtyle ſo highly poetical, that, when he delivered it, his auditors were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. The profeſſor made him a polite compliment upon the performance, but at the ſame time added, with a ſmile, that if he thought of being uſeful in the miniſtry, he muſt keep a ſtricter rein upon his imagination, and expreſs himſelf in language more intelligible to an ordinary congregation. Thomſon concluded from this, that his expectations from the ſtudy of divinity might be very precarious, as he foreſaw the impoſſibility of reſtraining a lively imagination; and therefore he declined entering into the church, to which an invitation he received from a lady of rank in London, a friend of his mother, not a little contributed. Elated at this offer, he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey.

The patronage of this lady, however, extended no further than to a general introduction to her acquaintance; but it furniſhed him with an apology for the imprudence of leaving his native country, his family, and his friends, to truſt to fortuitous events for a decent ſubſiſtence, his fund for immediate ſupport being very ſmall.

It appears that Mr. Thomſon's merit did not lie long concealed at London; for he ſoon found a zealous friend in Mr. Forbes, afterwards lord preſident of the Court of Seſſion in Scotland; this gentleman recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to his intimate acquaintance, and in particular to Mr. Aikman, whoſe premature death Thomſon has, with great affection, commemorated in a copy of verſes written on that occaſion. Thus encouraged, he ventured to publiſh the firſt of his Seaſons, intituled, "WINTER," in March 1726, which was read with univerſal approbation; and

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from this time his acquaintance was much courted by men of taſte. Dr. Rundle, biſhop of Derry, now became his intimate friend and patron, exerting himſelf upon every occaſion to eſtabliſh his character as a poet: and at length he introduced him to his great friend the lord chancellor Talbot, whoſe ſon Mr. Thomſon afterwards accompanied as travelling tutor. His affection and gratitude to Dr. Rundle are finely expreſſed in his poem to the memory of lord Talbot.

The favourable reception given by the public to his WINTER, joined to the high expectations it had raiſed that he would complete the plan, by giving the other Seaſons, induced him to ſtudy with great aſſiduity, and to be particularly careful that they ſhould rather excel than fall ſhort of this ſpecimen of his talents for paſtoral poetry. Accordingly, his SUMMER was publiſhed in 1727, SPRING in 1728, and AUTUMN, in a quarto edition of his works, in 1730.

But theſe poems did not entirely take up his time; for though we have been obliged, in order to mention the Seaſons as a perfect work, to carry the reader on to the year 1730, it will be neceſſary to go back to the year 1727, to trace the regular progreſs of his other productions. In that year he publiſhed his poem to the memory of Sir Iſaac Newton, then lately deceaſed: and the Britiſh merchants at this time complaining loudly of the interruption of their commerce in South America by the Spaniards, Mr. Thomſon, inſpired with patriotic zeal, publiſhed an excellent poem, intituled, "Britannia," with a view to rouſe the vengeance of the nation againſt the invaders of their commercial rights. His judicious friends, now ſenſible of the force of his genius, which they judged to be capable of executing any ſpecies of poetry whatever, adviſed him to turn his thoughts to the drama, obſerving, that, if he ſucceeded in this walk, it would be the readieſt road to fame and fortune. Accordingly, he

wrote the tragedy of SOPHONISBA, which was acted with great applauſe in 1729.

Being called upon ſoon after to make the tour of Europe with the honourable Mr. Charles Talbot, his poetical ſtudies were interrupted for a conſiderable time; but even his travels furniſhed him with rich materials for gratifying his favourite paſſion on his return home. For having viſited moſt of the courts, and capital cities of Europe, in the courſe of his travels, he made the moſt judicious obſervations on their government, laws, manners, and cuſtoms, which he wrought with admirable ſkill into a poem on LIBERTY, divided into five parts, with the more general title of "Ancient and Modern Italy compared; Greece, Rome, Britain, and the Proſpect." While he was compoſing the firſt part of this maſterly poem, he received a ſevere ſhock by the death of his noble friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Talbot; and this affliction moſt probably brought on a much greater loſs to Mr. Thomſon and to the public, which was the death of the lord chancellor, juſtly ſtyled the Great Lord Talbot, of whom this conciſe and amiable character is given: "When his merit, and the unanimous ſuffrage of his country, induced his ſovereign to reward him with the great ſeal, his univerſal affability, his eaſineſs of acceſs, his humanity to the diſtreſſed, his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and his great diſpatch of buſineſs, engaged the affection and veneration of all who approached him. By conſtantly delivering his reaſons for every decree he made, the court of chancery became an inſtructive ſchool of equity; and his deciſions were generally attended with ſuch conviction to the parties, againſt whoſe intereſt they were given, that their acquieſcence uſually prevented the expence and trouble of appeals. As no ſervile expedient raiſed him to power, his countrymen knew he would make uſe of none to ſupport himſelf in it. His private life was the mirror of every virtue; his piety was exalted, rational, and unaffected. In his converſation

converſation was united the utmoſt freedom of debate, with the higheſt good-breeding, and the vivacity of mirth with primitive ſimplicity of manners."

Such was the noble patron by whoſe death Mr. Thomſon ſaw himſelf reduced from a genteel competency to a ſtate of precarious dependence; the chancellor having made him his ſecretary of briefs, a place of little duty or attendance, ſuited to his retired way of living, and affording an income ſufficient for his moderate demands. This place fell with his patron; yet his genius was not depreſſed, nor his temper hurt, by this reverſe of fortune. He reſumed his natural vivacity, after he had paid the tribute of grief to the memory of his deceaſed benefactor; and the profits ariſing from the ſale of his works, together with the liberality of new patrons, enabled him to continue his uſual mode of living, which, though ſimple, was ſocial and elegant. In 1738, his tragedy of AGAMEMNON was acted, and met with ſuch a favourable reception, that it produced him a conſiderable ſum. His friend Mr. Quin was likewiſe very kind to him.

But his chief dependence, after the death of lord Talbot, was on the protection and bounty of his royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, who, upon the recommendation of the late lord Lyttelton, ſettled on our poet a genteel penſion, and always received him very graciouſly. It ſo happened, however, that the patronage of his royal highneſs was, in one inſtance, prejudicial to Mr. Thomſon, owing to the quarrel ſubſiſting between the prince and the king, when Mr. Thomſon's Tragedy of EDWARD and ELEANORA was ready for the ſtage. The refuſal of a licence to this piece was conſidered as an intended affront to the prince; and there is great reaſon to believe this to be true, becauſe there is not a ſingle paſſage in the play which could render it exceptionable.

His next dramatic performance was the Maſque of of ALFRED, in which he was aſſiſted by the late David

Mallet, who was his uſeful friend upon many occaſions: it was compoſed by command of the prince of Wales, for the entertainment of his ſelect friends in the ſummer at Kew; and it was afterwards brought upon the ſtage, when it met with great ſucceſs.

In the year 1745, his TANCRED and SIGISMUNDA was performed, and the uſual applauſe was deſervedly beſtowed on this affecting tragedy. He now finiſhed his CASTLE of INDOLENCE, an allegorical poem in two cantos, a performance highly eſteemed by the critical judges of the poetic art: this was the laſt work he lived to publiſh; his Tragedy of CORIOLANUS being only prepared for the ſtage, when a violent fever deprived his country, at a premature age, of a moſt worthy man, and an excellent poet. His death happened on the 27th of Auguſt 1748. His executors were the lord Lyttelton, and Mr. Mitchel, by whoſe intereſt his orphan tragedy of CORIOLANUS was brought upon the ſtage: from the profits of which, and from the ſale of his manuſcripts, and other effects, all demands were duly ſatisfied, and a handſome ſum of money was remitted to his ſiſters in Scotland. His remains were depoſited in the pariſh-church of Richmond, under a plain ſtone, without any inſcription.

Mr. Thomſon himſelf acknowledges, in his works, that his perſon was not the moſt promiſing: he was indeed rather robuſt than graceful, and his countenance was not the moſt pleaſing: his worſt appearance was when he was ſeen walking alone, in a penſive mood; but when his friends accoſted him, and entered into converſation, he would inſtantly aſſume a more amiable aſpect, his features appearing to more advantage. He had improved his taſte in poetry upon the beſt originals, ancient and modern. What he borrows from the ancients, he gives us in an avowed faithful paraphraſe, or tranſlation, as may be obſerved in a few paſſages in his Seaſons, taken from Virgil; and in that beautiful picture from the elder Pliny, where the courſe

courſe and gradual increaſe of the Nile are figured by the ſtages of a man's life. The autumn was his favourite time for poetical compoſition; and the deep ſilence of the night, the time he commonly choſe for ſuch ſtudies; ſo that he would often be heard walking in his ſtudy till near morning, humming over what he was to correct and write out the next day. The amuſements of his leiſure hours were civil and natural hiſtory, voyages, and the beſt relations of travellers; and had his ſituation favoured it, he would certainly have excelled in gardening, agriculture, and every rural improvement and exerciſe.

Although he performed on no inſtrument, he was paſſionately fond of muſic, and would ſometimes liſten a full hour at his window to the nightingales in Richmond-garden. Nor was his taſte leſs exquiſite in the arts of painting, ſculpture, and architecture: in his travels he had ſeen all the moſt celebrated monuments of antiquity, and the beſt productions of modern art; and had ſtudied them ſo minutely, and with ſo true a judgment, that, in ſome of his deſcriptions in the poem of Liberty, we have the maſter-pieces mentioned placed in a ſtronger light, perhaps, than if we ſaw them. As for the more diſtinguiſhing qualities of his mind and heart, they are better repreſented in his writings than they can be by the pen of any biographer. There his love of mankind, of his country, and friends; his devotion to the Supreme Being, founded on the moſt elevated and juſt conceptions of his operations and providence; ſhine out in every page. So unbounded was his tenderneſs of heart, that it took in even the brute creation. He was extremely affectionate to his fellow-mortals: it is not indeed known, that, through his whole life, he gave any one perſon pain by his writings, or any part of his conduct. He took no part in any literary diſputes, and therefore was reſpected and unmoleſted, even by rival candidates for poetic fame. Theſe amiable virtues, this divine temper

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of mind, did not fail of their due reward; the beſt and the greateſt men of his time honoured him with their friendſhip and protection; the applauſe of the public attended all his productions; his friends loved him with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, and ſincerely lamented his death, at an age when the greateſt expectations were rationally formed that they might enjoy his ſociety, and the entertaining productions of his pen, for many years.

The works of this poet, particularly "The Seaſons," have been frequently reprinted; and in the year 1762, two editions of all his works, with his laſt corrections and improvements, were publiſhed by Mr. Patrick Murdoch, who has prefixed an account of his life and writings: one of theſe editions is in 2 vols. 4to, the other in 4 vols. 8vo; and to them we ſtand indebted for the chief incidents in theſe memoirs.

THE LIFE OF

SIR HANS SLOANE, BART.

[A. D. 1660, to 1752.]

THE greateſt diſcoveries and improvements in the medical art, and in natural philoſophy, have been made in the preſent century; to which our countrymen have largely contributed. In philoſophy, our Newton and Boyle hold the firſt rank; the palm in phyſic muſt be given to Boerhaave, the celebrated Dutch phyſician; but Sloane and Mead deſervedly lay claim to the ſecond degree of honour in this uſeful profeſſion. To the firſt the nation ſtands moſt conſiderably indebted; and as the requiſite variety, and limits of our work, oblige us to give a preference, having determined in favour of his life, we beg leave to refer the curious to that of Doctor Mead for an excellent

cellent performance, intituled. " Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead, M. D. 8vo. 1755."

Sir Hans Sloane was deſcended from a family of ſome antiquity in Scotland, a branch of which, during the troubles in queen Mary's reign, ſettled at Killileagh, in the north of Ireland, where he was born in 1660. We are told, that the firſt dawnings of his genius diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to reſearches into the curioſities and ſecrets of nature; and this directed his parents to put him upon a mode of education adapted to this diſpoſition. Natural hiſtory, and by an eaſy tranſition, the medical art, became his favourite ſtudies, and ſoon determined him to make choice of the latter, as a profeſſion for life. With a view of acquiring improvement in every claſs of ſcience connected with the ſtudy or practice of the medical art, he repaired to London, that general academy of knowledge, where he attended all the public lectures on anatomy and phyſic; commenced pupil to Stafforth, a celebrated chemiſt, and ſtudied botany at the very ſmall phyſical garden, at that time belonging to the company of apothecaries, at Chelſea; but we are not informed who had then the management of it.

His attachment to natural hiſtory, and experimental philoſophy, procured him the notice, and gained him the eſteem and friendſhip, of Mr. Boyle, and of Mr. Ray, the moſt eminent naturaliſt of his time. Theſe gentlemen beſtowed great attention on Sloane, taking every opportunity to improve his natural abilities, by cultivating his underſtanding; and, in return, he communicated to them many curious and uſeful diſcoveries and obſervations which he made in the courſe of his ſtudies. After about four years paſſed in this manner at London, he was adviſed to travel in purſuit of a more extenſive field of knowledge.

The principal profeſſors of anatomy, of medicine, and of botany, at Paris, at this time, were men of the firſt eminence; he therefore determined to viſit that univerſity,

univerſity, and to reſide ſome time in that famous city. There he frequented the public hoſpitals; the botanical lectures of Tournefort; the anatomical of Du Verney; and became acquainted with the firſt phyſicians of the court. From Paris he went to Montpellier, warmly recommended by Tournefort to M. de Chirac, chancellor and profeſſor of medicine to that univerſity, who received him with great reſpect, and introduced him to all the learned men of the province. Amongſt theſe was the ingenious Mr. Magnol, who made botany his chief ſtudy. This gentleman took great pains to make Mr. Sloane acquainted with the various ſpontaneous productions of Nature, which are almoſt innumerable in that happy climate; and he taught him how to claſs them in their proper order. He ſpent a whole year with Mr. Magnol in this agreeable and uſeful employment; after which he travelled through Languedoc, continuing the ſame purſuits.

About the latter end of the year 1684, he arrived at London, with a reſolution to ſettle, and to practiſe as a phyſician. In this deſign he was greatly encouraged by the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, who generouſly took our young phyſician into his own houſe, introduced him to practice, and recommended him in all companies. How very different this from the conduct of the generality, who oppoſe and circumvent each other as much as poſſible!

His friend, Mr. Ray, to whom he had tranſmitted a great variety of ſeeds and plants, ſoon after his return home, propoſed him as a member to the Royal Society; and he was accepted in a diſtinguiſhed manner by that learned body. Mr. Ray likewiſe gave deſcriptions of ſuch plants as he had ſent him, with proper acknowledgments, in his *Hiſtoria Plantarum*. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians the following year; and his reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he muſt have come into very great practice, but his ruling paſſion getting the better

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of all pecuniary conſiderations, he liſtened to a propoſal made to him by the duke of Albemarle, juſt appointed governor of Jamaica, to go over with him in quality of his phyſician. No diſſuaſions had any effect; he made a joke of the repreſentation made to him of the unhealthineſs of the climate, and thought no ſacrifice too great for his favourite purſuit. In Jamaica he reſided fifteen months; and during this ſhort time, he made ſuch a large collection of plants as a man of leſs ingenuity and induſtry would have been ſome years in finding out. Mr. Ray, upon his return, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, having no conception that ſuch a variety could be met with in all Aſia.

Dr. Sloane now applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to his profeſſion, and became ſo eminent, that upon the firſt vacancy he was choſen phyſician to Chriſt's Hoſpital; and we are now to mention a circumſtance which is almoſt as uncommon as his great abilities: he applied the whole ſalary annexed to this appointment to the relief of thoſe who were the greateſt objects of compaſſion in the hoſpital, being determined not to derive any emolument from the humane duty of reſtoring health to the poor.

In the year 1693, he was elected ſecretary to the Royal Society; and he immediately revived the publication of "The Philoſophical Tranſactions," which had been omitted for ſome time: he continued to be the editor of theſe volumes till the year 1712; and he greatly enriched the collection, from the time he took the management of it, with papers written by himſelf.

All this time he had been making a collection of uncommon, ſingular, extraordinary, and ſcarce productions of nature and art; of ſuch he had formed a conſiderable cabinet, well worthy the inſpection of the learned. His ingenuity and induſtry in forming this repoſitory attracted the attention of the curious who viſited it, and amongſt others, of William Courten, Eſq.

Eſq. a gentleman of fortune, who had employed the greateſt part of his income, and of his time, in the ſame purſuit. Pleaſed to find in Dr. Sloane, a mind congenial to his own, he thought he could not take a better method of tranſmitting his name to poſterity, and of being aſſured that his own valuable collection would be carefully preſerved, than by bequeathing it to the doctor, whoſe cabinet, with this addition, became one of the firſt in Europe. His great merit was now univerſally acknowledged, and ſeemed to demand ſome conſpicuous honours, that might ſhew to foreigners, as well as to his own countrymen, that he was conſidered as the firſt man in his profeſſion, and as an ornament to his country, for his great learning and ſkill in natural hiſtory.

Accordingly about the year 1720, he was created a baronet by George I. to whom he had been appointed firſt phyſician ſome time before: he was likewiſe elected preſident of the College of Phyſicians; and upon the death of Sir Iſaac Newton, in 1727, he ſucceeded that great philoſopher in the preſidential-chair of the Royal Society.

His great reputation acquired him the eſteem and correſpondence of learned foreigners in all parts of Europe, and he was made a member of the Royal Academy at Paris. From this time to the year 1740, Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead were the only phyſicians in vogue amongſt all ranks of people; and it is ſuppoſed they made from five to ſeven thouſand pounds per annum of their practice. It is alſo very remarkable, that they were both introduced to buſineſs by the moſt eminent men of their profeſſion, when they were in the decline of life; Sloane by Sydenham, and Mead by Radcliffe.

In 1740, Sir Hans, loaded with years as with honours, retired to Chelſea, to enjoy, in peaceful retirement the remains of a well ſpent life. Here he continued to receive the viſits of people of diſtinction, and of all learned

learned foreigners: a day was likewiſe ſet apart for admitting them to ſee his collection of curioſities; and the friendly office of ſhewing them, with the neceſſary explanations, was undertaken by the late Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, then ſecretary to the Royal Society: another day in the week was employed in adminiſtering advice and medicines to the poor, to whom he was a moſt liberal benefactor.

Sir Hans Sloane was always more or leſs ſubject to a dangerous diſorder, ſpitting of blood; he was firſt ſeized with it at ſixteen years of age, and was confined by it near three years: yet, by ſobriety, temperance, and an occaſional uſe of the bark, he ſo far conquered this radical infirmity, that he protracted life far beyond its uſual duration: and, after an illneſs of three days, he expired, almoſt without a pang, in January 1752, in the ninety-firſt year of his age.

In his perſon he was tall and well-proportioned; in his manners eaſy and engaging; and in his converſation ſprightly and agreeable. Any propoſal whatever, having the public good for its object, was ſure to meet with his zealous encouragement: but his chief regard was extended to the poor. He was a governor of almoſt every hoſpital in and near London, and a liberal benefactor to them, both in his lifetime and by his will. He drew up the plan of a diſpenſary, for ſupplying the poor with medicines at prime coſt; which the college of phyſicians in ſome meaſure carried into execution, by ordering the company of apothecaries to retail medicines at their hall; but, if we are rightly informed, this inſtitution is now greatly abuſed, every private chemiſt ſelling medicines cheaper than they can be had at the apothecaries hall. Yet Sir Hans Sloane was a great benefactor to this very company, for he made them a preſent of their botanical garden at Chelſea; in the centre of which they have indeed erected a ſtatue to his memory, admirably well executed by the late eminent Mr. Ryſback. He pro-

moted the eſtabliſhment of the colony of Georgia in 1732; and he aſſiſted captain Coram in obtaining the charter and ſubſcriptions for the Foundling Hoſpital in 1739; he likewiſe formed the plan for bringing up the children with reſpect to diet, and the care of their health.

Sir Hans Sloane was the firſt who introduced the uſe of the Jeſuits Bark in England; he brought it into univerſal practice, not only as a remedy in fevers, but likewiſe in moſt nervous diſorders, in violent hæmorrhages, and in mortifications. His efficacious recipe for diſeaſes of the eyes, and his remedy for the bite of a mad dog, are medicines in eſtabliſhed uſe, having been generally ſucceſsful.

It now remains, that we ſhould give ſome account of the Britiſh Muſeum, which will be a laſting monument of the reputation of this great man, though we can by no means allow him the honourable title of being the founder. It is true, the public are greatly indebted to his taſte, judgment, and aſſiduity, for having formed ſuch a repoſitory of natural productions, and other curioſities as were deemed uſeful to illuſtrate a great variety of ſubjects, and to aſſiſt ſtudents and pupils in almoſt every branch of arts and ſcience; if no ſuch valuable collection had ſubſiſted, government would not have had a proper baſis for improving on ſuch an excellent plan, by adding other collections to Sir Hans Sloane's, and making one grand muſeum of the whole, for the benefit of the nation. But it ſhould be remembered, that part of Sir Hans's collection was a free gift to him from a private gentleman, who, if he could have lived to have ſeen a national muſeum eſtabliſhed, moſt probably would have bequeathed his curioſities to the public.

By Sir Hans's laſt will, he directed, that his valuable muſeum, together with his library, conſiſting of upwards of 50,000 volumes, and 3560 manuſcripts, ſhould be offered to the parliament for the uſe of the public,

on paying the ſum of 20,000l. to his heirs; but if the parliament ſhould not chooſe to purchaſe them, then, on the ſame conditions, they were to be offered to the Academies of Sciences of Peterſburgh, Paris, and Madrid, ſucceſſively; and if all theſe ſhould refuſe them, the executors were to ſell them in ſuch manner as they ſhould think expedient. For the honour of the nation, parliament agreed to the terms; but conſidering this collection, though valuable, as not ſufficiently extenſive for a national muſeum, an act was made for raiſing a ſum of money by lottery, not only to purchaſe this, but other valuable collections, and to eſtabliſh proper officers, with competent ſalaries, to take care of the whole, and to exhibit it under proper reſtrictions, without further fee or reward.

Accordingly all that valuable collection of manuſcripts, denominated the Harleian, from its collector and proprietor, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was purchaſed of his daughter, the ducheſs of Portland, for 10,000l. To theſe were added the famous Cottonian Library, which we have noticed in the life of Sir Robert Cotton, vol. iii. and the King's or Royal Library. Montague-houſe was likewiſe purchaſed for the purpoſe of preſerving them all entire under one roof. The inſtitution was intituled, with great propriety, THE BRITISH MUSEUM; and the great officers of ſtate for the time being, together with the biſhop of London, and the preſidents of the Royal Society and the College of Phyſicians, and ſome others, were made perpetual truſtees: they have a power to add to the muſeum by purchaſes; and the parliament, within theſe few years, have granted a ſum for that purpoſe.

Sir Hans Sloane only publiſhed one work, which is in the higheſt repute; "The Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica," 2 vols folio.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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MUSEUM